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## FOREWORD

TO S'ri C. Jinarājadāsa, the President of the Theosophical Society, we owe the inspiration to bring out this translation of the Aśoka Edicts, together with the original text, Sanskrit *chāyā* and transliteration in Roman script. The purpose of the present translation is to present a popular edition of the edicts of the great Emperor and to give the precepts contained therein, the widest publicity possible; for, his message of tolerance, concord, peace and *Dharma Vijaya* is of special value at the present day. *Samavāya eva Sadhuḥ* (Concord alone is excellent), proclaimed the great Emperor, when he was faced with the problem of rival religions, philosophies and systems of thought prevalent in his vast empire; and he tried to solve the problem by emphasizing the essential unity and agreement with regard to the fundamental verities in all of them and by achieving *samavāya* (concord, harmony or integration) among the diverse systems.

The scheme adopted in this work is as follows:—on the left side, the text is presented with the corresponding transliterated text of the edicts in English; on the right side, the Sanskrit *chāyā* and the English translation of the corresponding text on the left side are

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To Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, the great historian and archaeologist, we are deeply grateful for the most valuable Introduction which he has contributed, at great personal inconvenience. It will be impertinence on our part to comment on the quality of any work which the learned Professor undertakes to execute. All his works are perfect models for others to follow.

To Pandit V. Krishnamacharya of the Adyar Library we are indebted for many useful suggestions. Pandit N. Ramachandra Bhat (also of the Adyar Library) has helped us in the preparation of the text and the passing of the proofs. Pandit N. Aiyaswami Sastri, (our Honorary Editor, now Professor at Santiniketan) has given valuable advice in regard to the Rūpnāth Edict. The press copy of the work was prepared by Pandit V. Narayanaswami Sastri of the Adyar Library. We record our grateful thanks to all these scholars associated in this work.

There is a fairly extensive literature on As'oka from which we have profited. Particular mention has, however, to be made of the following works to which we are specially indebted: *Corpus Inscriptionum*

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7th February, 1950

G. SRINIVASA MURTI  
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## INTRODUCTION

AMONG historical records that have come down to our times the inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka are unique. This is so if one considers their language or form, objective, or content, the wide area of their dispersion or their originality. Today they are described as the *Edicts* of Asoka. An edict is an order issued by competent sovereign authority. While in a general sense, as emanating from an Emperor, they may be so described, their general purpose is more ethical than administrative direction. This is why they conform to their description as "sermons in stone." They are intended not for the instruction of contemporaries but for the perpetual guidance of posterity, of future generations of rulers and subjects both in India and outside.

Inscriptions that are drafted in royal chancellories are in ornate language and begin by a recital of the title of the Ruler, a description of his ancestry and high lineage; they also contain a great deal of self-laudation. These features may be noticed in the famous trilingual inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun to which, from superficial resemblance, the

Inscriptions of  
Asoka and  
Darius—a com-  
parison

records of As'oka have been usually compared ; indeed they are held to have been inspired by it. To mark their authenticity, the records of As'oka begin with expressions like " thus said King Priyadars'in, " indicating their direct emanation from the Emperor. In the inscription at Behistun, Darius begins thus: " I am Darius, the Great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the Provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsaces, the Achaemenian—Thus saith Darius the King." As'oka too was an Emperor, the son of an Emperor and the grandson of an Emperor, who, according to the Purāṇic phrase, " brought the whole world under one umbrella." As'oka was the lord of an empire vaster than that of Darius. Yet there is no word in the Edicts to indicate all this. The author describes himself simply as " Rājā, " ' king ' or ' prince ' which any princeling might use.

The language of the Edicts is the Magadhan vernacular, or *Prākṛt*, and not the refined Sanskrit (*samskr̥ta*). Copies of the Edicts were made in many and widely separated sites in the empire. The unornate and almost rough language (as Senart has pointed out) must represent the actual words of the Emperor, which none under him dared to revise, alter or embellish. It may not represent the actual official language of the administration but the language that the common people all over the wide empire could easily understand. The words of the Edicts show that they came straight from the lips of the Emperor. It would be

Distinctive  
features of the  
Edicts

difficult otherwise to account for their containing expressions of personal regret and sorrow, rebukes to local officers, declarations of Asoka's intention to publish more edicts of the kind and get them engraved in many parts of the kingdom, and his fear (which we now know to have been baseless) that his very words were not incised correctly everywhere in the edicts, that were incised by his command. In one of his latest Edicts (P.E. VII) published twenty-three years after his coronation, he declares that the rescript had been promulgated so that it might endure and be followed as long as the sun and the moon. In Rock Edict XIV he declares that he proposes to have still more edicts written and promulgated, an intention that he fulfilled. Inscriptions usually commemorate a benefaction, dedication or donation, and constitute charters to the beneficiaries. This is not so with the bulk of Asoka's inscriptions. The commemoration of incidents is also a feature of royal inscriptions. This feature is seen in the edict which commemorates the visit of the Emperor to *Sambodhi* (the place where the Buddha attained Enlightenment, *i.e.* Buddha-Gaya), the Rummindei inscription, which marks the visit of Asoka in the twentieth year of his coronation to the place where the Buddha was born and the Nigliwa Pillar edict which commemorates the erection of a *stūpa* in honour of Kanakamuni Buddha in the fourteenth year of his reign. With such exceptions the edicts contain no direct commemoration of any historical incident of the reign. Important

events, like the conquest of Kalinga "after the eighth year from the coronation," come in incidentally to explain certain motives of the Emperor in a later record (e.g. Rock Edict XIII). The motive behind the edicts generally is what is stated in R. E. IV—to serve for the instruction of future generations in Dharma till the end of the aeon (*kalpa*). The selection of the most durable forms of publication, by engraving the edicts on rocks that can withstand the ravages of Time, or on huge monolithic pillars that can be trusted to last as long, was with this intention. Kings only address their subjects. Asoka addressed posterity and the people of countries not then subject to him. The Minor Rock Edicts on the southern frontiers of his empire at Siddāpur, Maski and Yerraguḍi were intended for the edification and guidance of independent peoples outside the realm. The best way of ensuring the good conduct of peoples beyond the frontier was to make them fully conversant with the Emperor's policy of peace and amity with all living beings and his earnest desire that they should share his convictions.

The location of the Edicts follows a definite plan. Those Rock Edicts that enunciate the broad ethical principles of the Emperor underlying his administrative policy are on the borders of the empire. They were intended for the information and guidance of the independent neighbours as well as the border inhabitants of the empire so that they should have warning

Their  
locale and  
contents

not to embroil the empire in a war with the neighbouring states or peoples left independent by the deliberate self-restraint of the Emperor, who, with an army larger than that of any contemporary, could easily have conquered the border states also much as he had conquered in the early years of the reign the kingdom of Kalinga. The Kalinga Edicts contain the rules made by Aśoka for the pacification of the territory lately conquered after the sanguinary and short war which filled him with remorse and pity and with an aversion to all future conquests by arms. It is noteworthy that the Kalinga Edicts contain no reference to the conquest of the area which is only mentioned as the cause of the change of the Emperor's heart in Rock Edict XIII. Aśoka's admonition to the Buddhist monks not to promote schisms is appropriately found in the monastery at Sārnāth, where it is declared that "a monk or a nun who divides the *Saṅgha* shall be expelled from the order", or in the picturesque words of the Edict "be deprived of the ochre-coloured garment of the monk or nun and be made to wear white garments and be put out of the monastery." The district officers (*Mahamātrah*) at Kauśāmbī are similarly instructed. The edict in the manastery of Bairāt (Virāṭapura) or Bhabru, in Rajputana, recalls the attention of Buddhist monks and nuns to seven passages in the Buddhist *Vinaya-piṭaka*, which stress the cultivation by the Buddhist ascetics of personal purity and spirituality rather than mechanical conformity to external appearance.



The implication is that the essential aspect of Buddhism was forgotten in As'oka's day by the Buddhist clergy, and that As'oka's mind was obsessed by the spiritual and ethical rather than the ritualistic side of Buddhism, or, for that matter Brahmanism. It is likely that many copies of these Edicts were deposited in Buddhist monasteries and are now lost. The Rock Edicts which sum up As'oka's aims and ideals are on the frontiers or the extreme limits of the empire from Shabazgarhi near Peshawar to Yerraguḍi in Kurnul district and from Girnar in Saurāṣṭra to Dhauli and Jaugada in Orissa. The Pillar Edicts which sum up his ethical ideas and which belong to the concluding years of his reign, are in important localities in the heart of the empire. In every instance the location is selected in a manner to compel attention. The massive rocks on well-worn roads or ornamental pillars of great height and beauty are chosen for the inscriptions. The inscriptions that have survived, leaving aside the cave dedications and the Queen's edict, are only about thirty, but many copies of these as standardized were probably made.

The first person to observe a pillar inscription in modern times was the Roman Catholic priest Tieffenthaler (1756), who saw fragments of the Mirath pillar at Delhi. James Prinsep found in 1837 the key to the As'oka script at about the same time that Sir Henry Rawlinson found the key to the cuneiform inscription at Behistun. In Hiuen Tsiang's time sixteen pillar inscriptions were

Discovery of the  
Inscriptions

known, but of these six have disappeared in spite of their massive size. The Maski fragment was found in 1915 and the Minor Edict and the complete set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts at Yerragudi as recently as 1928. Areas which were once populous are now buried in jungle and more copies of the Rock Edicts may yet be discovered. But they cannot materially add to the historic data that the extant inscriptions furnish. We have reached a stage at which the available information regarding the Emperor can be finalized.

A feature of the Edicts is that they are not dated in any era though they contain allusions to incidents or the promulgation of edicts in dates reckoned from the coronation or anointing of the Emperor. The name of As'oka has figured conspicuously in Buddhist legends both in Ceylon and in the North. This is but natural as he was the first great ruler to become a Buddhist. But fact and fiction are so mixed up in the Ceylonese legends, as embodied in the monkish chronicles of the island, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa* which belong to the fourth and late fifth centuries A.D., *i.e.*, several centuries after As'oka's time, as well as in the *Asokavadāna*, a part of the larger *Divyāvadāna*, which collects the northern legends and which is somewhat earlier in date. Isolated legends were noted by Chinese pilgrims who are still later. In their days the secret of the As'oka scripts was lost and they could not be read—a tragic end to the Emperor's hope of their guiding posterity for centuries!

The foundation of the administration in Asoka's time was obviously that built by his grandfather Candragupta of which we have some description in the fragments of Megasthenes and the Greek travellers and a realistic or idealized standard in the *Arthashastra* of Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya. But in point of authenticity and reliability the Edicts rank highest among the sources. Their truth is as transparent as is their simplicity. Records of their type meant for millions of contemporaries, who would know facts, could not well have concealed or distorted truth. The suggestion by Prof. Charpentier that "it is extremely questionable whether Asoka has laid open to us, or has concealed, the greater part of his own personality," (*JRAS*, 1926, p. 138) is manifestly untenable. The aim of the Edicts, unlike similar historial records, is not to glorify the author or give an account of his achievements as a king, but to appeal to contemporaries and posterity to follow great moral truths. Such references as occur to his own feelings or acts are parts of his spiritual history, designed to show how gradually enlightenment came to him with experience. They reveal his personality in a way in which a deliberate autobiographical record will not.

The Edicts have been submitted to exhaustive examination and studied by many scholars, who have however endeavoured, with doubtful success, to supplement the data furnished by the Edicts by such stories or legends in the monastic chronicles as do not run counter to the edicts. One method of approach is

still open. In spite of the repeated exhortations of Aśoka to respect and be liberal to Brāhmaṇa householders and ascetics, and the marked way in which Aśoka avoids stressing any but common features of ethics and avoids propagandist Buddhist reaching, the background of life and belief in Aśoka's time furnished by *Dharmasāstra* has not received adequate attention. To form a correct estimate of Aśoka, this has to be done. The Buddhist legends, which belong to epochs when definite hostility between Brahmanism and Buddhism was marked, or which emanated in areas in which Brahmanical literature was not much known, have made Aśoka a Buddhist Constantine, a missionary and propagandist on a large scale. The Edicts contain nothing to justify this view. That Aśoka became first a lay-follower of Buddhism and later on a *bhikkhu* while retaining his regal position is shown by the Edicts. But his propagandism is for ethical elements common to Brahmanism and Buddhism and not for Buddhism as a separate and rival religion. In the background of the Bhabru edict, which collects just those passages in the *Vinaya* which emphasize spirituality rather than ritual in Buddhism, it is not easy even to accept the suggestion that has been made that Aśoka's public faith as an Emperor must be distinguished from his personal faith as an individual. The accounts of missions to spread Buddhism in foreign countries in Aśoka's day need not be discredited or rejected, especially as the relics of some of the Buddhist teachers selected (according to legends) for the missions

have been discovered ; but acceptance of the idea of Aśoka's *public* patronage of Buddhism as a non-Brahmanical religion and his open and state propaganda on its behalf has to be viewed with caution.

A comparative study of the main teachings of the Edicts and Dharmasāstra teachings will reveal their remarkable similarity. Thus in Rock Edict IX Aśoka discriminates between rites and ceremonies performed "on occasions of illness", and rites at marriages, births and before journeys are undertaken and rites done by mothers on behalf of children, which are not futile, but "bear small fruit" and what he called *Dharmamaṅgala*, which even if not fruitful immediately bear fruit in the other world." This view reflects the *Mīmāṃsā* concept of a Dharma act as productive of an invisible quality of the soul, termed *apūrva*, which bears fruit in other worlds and which is the cause of heavenly bliss and final liberation. The distinction he makes is that between an act for a desired end, termed in Dharmasāstra as *kāmyaphala*, and a moral or unselfish act done without expectation of a desired benefit (*niṣkāmyakarma*). The virtues inculcated in the Edicts are truthfulness (*satyam*), compassion (*dayā*), personal and mental purity (*śauca*), gentleness, as contrasted with anger and rage (*mārdavam*), *sādhuta*, thrift (*apavyayata*), self-control (*saṁyama*), purity of heart (*bhava-suddhi*), gratitude (*kṛtajñatā*), firm devotion (*dr̥ḍhabhakti*) and attachment to Dharma (*Dharmarati*). Among the thirty-two virtues which are catalogued,

along with their opposites or vices, by works on Dharma-sāstra, these will be found. The selection indicates As'oka's desire to stress those virtues, like thrift and avoidance of excessive riches which make for social peace and security as well as for personal uplift and happiness.

Students of the Edicts do not now interpret the statement in Rock Edict I—"Here no animal shall be killed or sacrificed"—as a prohibition of Vedic Yāga, but view it as either an allusion to the discontinuance of animal slaughter within the palace (which is contrary to other declarations that some animals alone were to be killed for the royal table) or to the slaughter of animals in the palace for gods. In Rock Edict IV As'oka notes that slaughter of animals and cruelty to living beings had been on the increase and he made a beginning in discouraging them. It is wrong to read this as a condemnation of a Vedic Yāga, firstly because a live victim is not necessary for every type of yāga and secondly a Vedic sacrifice ordinarily entails the slaying, after elaborate preparation and expense, of only one animal and it can only be done by *dvijas*. As'oka as a Maurya did not belong to this class, as Candragupta, his grandfather was a *non-dviija*. Slaughter of animals in large numbers has always existed for minor deities of the pantheon and for semi-aboriginal divinities as till recently at Periyapalayam near Madras and Mandakkad in South Travancore. Such slaughter is discountenanced and regarded as futile by Dharma-sāstra. To read more than As'oka's probable discountenancing the killing of animals on a large scale on

ostensible religious grounds is not justifiable. The idea that As'oka condemned the slaughter of animals from Buddhist affinity is not correct. The Buddhist code for monks (S.B.E. Vol. XI, pp. 71-73) *allowed* three kinds of flesh even for monks: 'the unseen, the unheard and the unsuspected,' interpreted as the flesh of any animal that had not been put to death in the sight of the monks, or was so declared in the hearing of the monk, or was declared in the hearing of the monk as killed for his consumption, or is suspected as specially slain for his benefit. Flesh *outside these classes* was lawful to the Buddhist monk. Meat-eating has been common in all Buddhist countries. Dharmasāstra (e.g., *Manusmṛti*) discusses the case for and against meat-eating and the verdict is in favour of the abstention, and even the slaying of an animal in a sacrifice is explained as based on a Vedic mandate and on the belief that it insured the salvation (*mukti*) of the victim.<sup>1</sup>

The prohibition of the slaughter (even for food) of pregnant goats or pigs, of the caponizing of cocks, of castration of animals, of the burning of husk (which contains minute animals) and the interdiction of setting fire to forests are all in accord with the tenets of Dharmasāstra, and Brahmanical rules long in vogue before As'oka. The smṛtis no more encouraged meat-eating than Buddhism condemned it. As'oka's prohibition of the slaughter of some animals, even for food, is in accord generally with Dharmasāstra, as well as the prohibition of killing of animals for food on stated

<sup>1</sup> *Manusmṛti*, V, vv. 26-53.

days which are the Brahmanical fast or *śrāddha* days (Pillar Edict V). There are small differences between the Dharmasāstra views and the specification in the Edicts, but these are not wider than the differences between *smṛti* and *smṛti*, e.g., Vasiṣṭha, Manu and Yājñavalkya. The two last allow the eating of the meat of the rhinoceros which Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana ban. Tortoises and porcupines are among the five-toed (*pañcanakha*) animals whose flesh alone in this class is permitted to be eaten (See *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, xvii, 37-38). The fifty-six days in the year in which fish was prohibited from being caught or killed or eaten are those on which they are interdicted by the *smṛtis* also. The prohibition of castration of certain animals (bulls, rams, pigs) as well as the caponizing of cocks is equally banned by Dharmasāstra. So is the ban on the burning of husk, which may contain insects, and the firing of jungles for destroying the animals within them (Pillar Edict V). So is the ban on the slaughter of ewes with suckling lambs etc. or animals that are pregnant. Dharmasāstra terms such action as *bhrūṇahatyā*, a grave sin. The flesh of the peacock is forbidden for eating by most *smṛtis* but Aśoka not only permits it but was himself for a long time accustomed to consume it. The differences may be viewed as recalling the people to the need to abide by ancient inhibitions in such respects at a time when laxity in observing the rules had spread.

The commendation of pilgrimages (*tīrtha-yatra*), of gifts (*dāna*), liberality to Brāhmaṇas and of 'pious'



works of public utility, such as the planting of trees and groves, especially of fruit trees, of the erection of rest-houses (*satra*) and water-sheds for wayfarers, of the excavation of tanks and wells, the substitution of royal pilgrimages to holy places for the old pleasure tours (*vihārayātrā*) or hunts, are all in the spirit of Dharmasāstra, which places such works, termed *pūrta*, even above sacrifices (*iṣṭa*) in regard to their spiritual efficacy. In the scale of *smṛti* values more importance is ascribed to those acts of humanity and reverence such as the considerate treatment of servants and slaves and deference and liberality to teachers (*guru*), Brāhmaṇas and sanyāsins (termed *śramaṇas* in the Edicts)<sup>1</sup>—than to the customary auspicious rites that women are fond of, and they are more appropriately *Dharmamaṅgala*. Altruistic action begets postmortuary rewards in *svarga* while rites for specific objects (*kāmya*) result only in smaller rewards in this life. Digests of Dharmasāstra stress the value of these so much that special sections are devoted to their elaboration. Asoka's conception of Dharma is virtually a reproduction of the Mīmāṃsā-Vaiśeṣika definition of the term, *viz.*, that which produces an invisible quality of the soul termed *apūrva*, which causes heavenly bliss and leads to final emancipation. The seclusion of royal or rich women in special apartments (*avarodha*) to which he alludes is a feature of classical Brahmanic life.

The term *Dharma* has a wide range of meaning and application. The idea that it was a special Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> Vide Rock Edict IX.

term *Dhamma* and stood both in its substantive and adjectival forms only for the idea peculiar to Buddhism

is incorrect. Asoka's Dharma is in fact

Dhamma of the  
Edicts not  
purely Buddhist

only the Brahmanic concept, in its wide range of application. To translate it as

"Law of Piety" is to give it a wrong

orientation, especially when the piety is held to be that upheld by Buddhism. Used adjectively in a wide popular sense it stands only for 'right' or 'proper' or 'just' (*dharmavijaya*), e.g., a conquest made after following the proper usages of war, as pointed out in the note on p. 49. In the Kalinga campaign the rules of righteous war were flagrantly violated. Non-combatants suffered both directly and indirectly, the innocent with the soldiers. Dharmasāstra has clear rules as to what is permissible and what is not so in war. Arthasāstra also upholds these as norms. Megasthenes and Greek visitors noted with admiration that when armies marched and fought within the Magadhan kingdom the cultivator went about his work undisturbed. In Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, which depicts conditions in North India in the seventh century A.D., nearly a thousand years after the foundation of the Mauryan rule and the establishment of its standards of government, mention is made of the manner in which soldiers on the march who trampled on standing crops were subjected to stoning by the cultivators and stood it without reprisal.

The Kalinga war described in terms of remorse and poignant grief by Asoka himself in Rock Edict

XIII involved for so small an area the slaughter of a hundred thousand, the enslavement of half as many more and the death and suffering of yet more among whom were Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas, women and children. This was *āsura vijaya*. It is possible to read into Aśoka's words a remorse born of personal knowledge of all that occurred either during the campaign or immediately after it. The two Kalinga Edicts guarantee to the conquered state and its surviving people security from unlawful imprisonment (as suspects in a newly conquered area are likely to suffer from administrative zeal) and equal treatment to the people of Kalinga with those elsewhere in the empire. This is the principle underlying the repeated assurance in the Edicts that "*all* people are my children," *i.e.*, the conquered people are entitled to the same paternal care and kindness as the subjects in the home provinces. Righteous rule knows no barriers. The officers in Kalinga are warned that they owe a debt to their Ruler which can be discharged only by carrying out faithfully his humane intentions not only to the people of Kalinga, till lately enemies, but also to the semi-barbarous people on the frontiers (the jungle tribes). Kalinga was apparently the only area that had been left unconquered by Aśoka's predecessors. In a war with Kalinga in the times of the Nandas, it was overrun and a famous Jaina idol from it was carried away to Pāṭalīputra, from which it was recovered by King Kharavela of Kalinga in B.C. 162 in his second invasion of Magadha. It is open to read into the sanguinary

and ruthless war of Kaliṅga in Asoka's time fierce resistance which made it necessary to allow acts of "frightfulness" condemned by the recognized laws of war (*dharmavijaya*). The kingdom of Kaliṅga extended from the Vaitaraṇī to the Godāvarī (probably) and its geographical position has always made it immune from easy conquest. The measures of conciliation devised by Asoka for Kaliṅga included the placing of it under a royal prince as Viceroy—a practice of Mauryan administration following the wise advice of Kauṭilya to train up princes in administration. It will be noticed that three other princely viceroys in Asoka's empire were placed in Takṣaśilā (in the difficult Gāndhāra country), Ujjain (to the western marches) and in Suvarṇagiri in the extreme south of the empire to watch the southern frontier. The Kaliṅga Edicts are, in substance and spirit, charters. They are, as in the case of the Brahmagiri Edicts, addressed to the local officers, who had to be warned to carry out the Emperor's intentions faithfully and zealously.

Asoka refers to his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects and his tireless work. He was always to be accessible to the work of the empire, wherever he might be. That this is the royal ideal and that the welfare of the king and the people are inseparable are taught by Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra. *Prajāsukhe sukham rājñam*—says Kauṭilya. The king must consider not his inclinations but the good of the subjects (Kauṭilya, ch. x).

Dhamma and  
Rājadharmā

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Dhamma and  
Rājadharmā

As'oka applies the doctrine of 'natal debt' to the relation of king and subject and of the king and his officers. He discharges his duty to all living beings by righteous rule; and the officers discharge their debt to their master by faithfully carrying out his beneficent intentions towards the people. This indebtedness extends to *all men*, like that of a father to his children. This is why As'oka repeats the declaration: "All men are my children" (Kaliṅga Edict II, p. 60). The conception is obviously based on the doctrine of the relation of all souls to one another as in the Vedāntic doctrine of the relation of the selves to the Self, though not so stated explicitly by As'oka. This idea along with those of Karma, Saṃsāra and Redemption are all implicit in the Edicts.

These features have made many modern scholars reject the view that the ideas in the Edicts are exclusively those of Buddhism, *i.e.* as it was in its full development. They point out that As'oka's Dharma is mainly the Rājadharmā of Dharmasāstra, *i.e.* of Brahmanism. They recall the frequent appeals to considerate action towards the veneration for Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇa ascetics, and to the absence of any exhortation for similar attitude to Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu*). Buddhism, like Jainism, has exalted the ascetic life and placed the monk above the householder (*gṛhastha*). Dharmasāstra, on the other hand, while recognizing the spiritual value of the ascetic life of renunciation, exalts that of the householder and rightly regards it as the foundation of society and the

householder as the supporter of all others, *i.e.* the novice (*brahmacārin*), the recluse (*vānaprastha*) and the ascetic (*sanyāsin*). The spread of monasticism means the gradual extinction of society. In Rock Edict XIII As'oka insists that on the householders lie all social duties, *e.g.* service to the aged, service to parents and teachers, duty to dependents and duty to society (*inf.* p. 41).

As'oka's references to his missionary activities are not to the spread of any religion and particularly of Buddhism, but to the spread of the broad ethical principles specified in the Edicts over and over again, in the spread of humane activities, in the opening of hospitals for man and beast even in foreign countries under non-Indian rulers, for the recognition of the moral basis of all religions and for the creation of a spirit of toleration to all religions. This last is the spirit of the *Bhagavadgītā* (IX, 22). Greek travellers noted that in Candragupta's days the Brāhmaṇas and S'ramanas, austere ascetics and householders, who lived outside the capital were frequently consulted and greatly honoured by the King and the people.<sup>1</sup> As'oka continued the practice. Whether out of policy or conviction, As'oka repeatedly declares his attachment to Brahmanism. Most students of As'oka's life take this view. Dr. F. W. Thomas goes further. He stresses As'oka's not mentioning anywhere in the Edicts ideas that are distinctively Buddhist like "the four grand truths," the "noble Eightfold

<sup>1</sup> M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, 1901, pp. 170-171.



Path," the chain of causation, the word and idea of Nirvāṇa, and concludes that Aśoka could not be described as a Buddhist. This view is an extreme one. The Edicts were addressed to all people and not to Buddhists only. Only common elements can be stressed in them. Common folk are not likely to understand philosophical ideas like *Mukti* or *Nirvāṇa*, while the idea of a Heaven (*svarga*) as the goal of righteous conduct will be intelligible to them. *Svarga* is mentioned thrice in the Edicts but ultimate redemption not even once.

But in the light of his own declarations of having joined the Buddhist fold and of having been first a  
 Aśoka                      lay follower and later on a monk (without  
 a Buddhist              divesting himself of his regal duties) and of the inscriptions that record his pilgrimage to the Buddhist Holy Land, and his specific appeals to the Buddhists in the Sārnāth, Kausāmbi and Bhabru Edicts, it is undeniable that he became and remained a Buddhist but of a tolerant and unexclusive type. He is not tired of condemning fanatic attacks on the religions of others made under the belief that thereby one exalts one's own faith. He insists on the common ethical or spiritual elements in all religions and sees only identities where others note only differences. The insistence on honour to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas may reflect the need to correct among Buddhists a tendency to run them down. The suggestion has been made by an historian that Aśoka's public religion and personal religion must be differentiated. This is unnecessary. Buddhism was

only making its lead in the Mauryan epoch. As'oka had become a member of the Buddhist fraternity *before* the Kalinga war, *i.e.* in the early years of the reign. The Ceylonese and North Indian legends about As'oka belong to periods centuries later than his time. By that time Brahmanism and Buddhism stood out as entirely separate and rival cults and social organizations. These legends emanate from areas in which the Brahmanical social system was not known. When As'oka was a prince and the Viceroy at Ujjain he is credited by the legend with having married a lady of the Vais'ya caste who is also represented, in another place, as of the Buddha's clan, *i.e.* the Sāk'ya. The latter, however, claimed to be Kṣatriyas. Either marriage would have been *pratiloma* and created opposition in those days. This is only an illustration of the unreliability of these sources and of their ignorance of social taboos. For a long time the followers of the Buddha could not have been regarded as completely cut away from Brahmanical society. They stood only for a modified social organization of the *varaṇā'srama* system, allowed asceticism to the last *varṇa* to which Brahmanism denied it, and did not accept the ultimate authority of the Vedas. In other respects, the theological and mythological ideas, the philosophical ideas of Karma, transmigration and ultimate release or ascent to *svarga* were common to both. The cleavage which widened with the centuries was not then so clear and visible. This would have been the attitude of even the Buddha, and was obviously that of As'oka and is given expression to in the Edicts.

The Edicts give dates for certain events or acts in terms of the years from Asoka's coronation.

Chronology of  
the Edicts

The Ceylonese and other legends along with many incredible stories of his having put to death a hundred brothers after his accession to the throne, state that an interval of about four years existed between the death of Bindusāra and the coronation of Asoka, though they add that the accession was peaceful. This period has been accepted by modern writers; and attempts have been made to explain it. It is probable that there was really an interval but a short one. When a king dies his heirs and relations are under a pollution and the period in which this impurity lasts is one in which no auspicious act can be done. Asoka's pollution on his father's death must have extended to a month as he was not a *dvija*. It is not lucky to reckon from inauspicious days. Asoka asks prisoners to be released on the date of his coronation and bans the killing of animals on two asterisms, *Tiṣya* and *Punarvasu*. The first was probably his natal asterism and the other that on which the coronation took place. In this view, the dates in B.C. given in modern books have to be put back by about four years. Counting from *abhiṣeka* is a wide-spread custom.<sup>1</sup> The Imperial Cola rulers counted dates even from their installation as Yuvarājas. The Purāṇas agree in giving Asoka's father and grandfather reigns of 25 and 24 years respectively. As the reign of the former is held to have begun about B.C. 323, that

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Dāśarajana Ayodhya Kānda* Sarga 2

of Asoka must be held to have begun in B.C. 274. As he is said to have ruled for 42 years, his death must have occurred about B.C. 232.

On this hypothesis the dates of the chief events mentioned in the Edicts will have to be revised thus: Accession and *abhiṣeka* B.C. 274; joining the Buddhist fraternity 269; conquest of Kalinga 266; closer connection with the Saṃgha 266; issue of the Minor Rock Edicts 264; issue of the two Kalinga Edicts, 263; issue of the Fourteen Rock Edicts 262; institution of Dharma-mahāmātrās (R. E. V.) 261; enlargement of the stūpa of Buddha Koṇākamana 260; pilgrimage to Lumbini and the erection of pillars at the place 254; issue of the Pillar Edicts 247-2; and death 232 B.C. The revised chronology will not conflict with the common dates of the Hellenic kings mentioned in Rock Edict II.

The administrative system of Asoka, judging from the allusions in the Edicts, marked no great change in the structure that is depicted in the Greek accounts and the *Arthasāstra*. There was a graded bureaucracy, ranging from the provincial governor to district and sub-district officers and rising to the emperor. In the case of four important viceroalties the position was held (according to precedent) by princes of the blood who had their own ministers and advisers as the Emperor had. The admonition to local officers to tour about their areas is only a repetition of what must have been a routine direction of administration. The

Asoka's Admin-  
istrative System

Indian King is *solely* responsible for the conduct, peace and happiness of the people and ministers are only advisers. The concept of a king ruling through constitutional ministers alone which makes it possible to say that "the king can do no wrong" is alien to Indian ideals. But ministers are men of experience, not favourites, and are usually hereditary. Even outsiders could rise in the service to high office, *e.g.*, Tuṣāspa, who was governor of Kathiawar in Candragupta's reign and repaired the dam of the great lake Girnar. The viceroys could be transferred. Asoka is himself said to have been viceroy at Takṣaśilā and Ujjain. The viceroyalties at Tosālī (in Kalinga) and Suvarṇagiri (in the southern marches) were probably created by Asoka. The cession of territory by Seleucus made the empire extend from the frontiers of Persia to the Bay of Bengal. It was a far larger empire than even British India. The innovations made by Asoka are mainly imposing on his local officers the duty of moral supervision and propaganda in the terms of the Edicts. The office of "censor of morals" whose jurisdiction extended even to the royal family was perhaps an innovation, though in accordance with the spirit of Indian polity.

The great army, the largest of the time and created by Candragupta, apparently continued to be maintained. Peace and pacific intentions do not imply disarmament. The experience of the Macedonian invasion and of the invasion of Seleucus as well as the Kalinga episode must have made the retention of the vast army necessary.

That the Emperor's supervision of local officers was effective and efficient is reflected in the terms of the Edicts, which contain admonition and advice as well as reproof, and in the fidelity with which his orders for the publication of the edicts were carried out. A ruler who is tireless in labouring for the good of his subjects sets an example to all his servants. The vast system of espionage, to which both the Hellenic accounts and the *Arthasāstra* refer, must have been efficient and the Emperor must have been kept abreast of all that happened everywhere in his vast dominions. These features make modern writers, who use political terms that are inapplicable to ancient India, describe Asoka as an *autocrat*, though a benevolent one. An absolute ruler is one who recognizes no authority above him. In Indian political thought and practice it is not the king who rules but it is Dharma, helped by the power of enforcing Dharma, termed '*Danda*' or 'sanction.' A king has no power to change Dharma. His fiat will not run against traditional Dharma. It is so with both Brahmanical as well as Buddhist rulers. Asoka mentions only one small change he made in criminal procedure. Instead of executing a capital sentence at once, as was the practice, he gave three days' grace to the sentenced criminal to make his peace with this and the other world. The release of prisoners on the anniversaries of the royal birthday did not mean pardoning them but remissions of sentence. In the Indian conception punishment is synonymous,

Asoka no  
Autocrat

in effect as in the name, with expiation (*prāyaścitta*). A felon may escape justice in this world but not the justice inherent in the Law of Karma. The *small* changes made even in the killing of animals for food reflect this spirit of loyalty to ancient rules.

The discipline that As'oka would impose on his subjects as well as all others is moral discipline, submission to ethical truths. Family discipline is the sure foundations of social stability and political loyalty. It is this which makes As'oka repeat the old advice, found in the Upaniṣads, to revere and honour parents teachers, renunciates, the aged and those deserving, honour. Some of the injunctions of As'oka, like his advice to practise thrift, and austerity in life, enshrine a wisdom whose value we can recognize today when the existence of excessive wealth and poverty side by side is a cause of disruption. Discipline (*vinaya*) is ennobled in Indian literature, Brahmanical and Buddhist. It is not submission to himself that As'oka asks for but loyalty to ancient moral rules of life. No state rescripts contain so much practical wisdom as the Edicts.

It may be inferred from the Edicts that As'oka came to a great heritage after peace and order had been well-established within the vast empire, and had been so for many years. It implies that the conquest of the Dakhan area must have been long anterior to his accession. Though born in the purple, he did not come to the throne without experience or at an immature age. His long reign was unclouded by any

disturbance. He outlines policies at the beginning of the reign and saw them carried out up to his last years. The Edicts are in Prākṛt, and not in the sacred tongues of either Brahmanism or Buddhism. Though incised in two scripts, the Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī, both seem to have been understood by the scribes, who saw to the execution of the inscriptions. The Yerraguḍi Edict which is in Brāhmī script is signed by the scribe Cavada in Kharoṣṭhi. The selection of the *spoken* dialects for the Edicts implies first, the existence of a common language throughout the wide empire, and secondly, fairly wide-spread ability to read. Two modern ideals of the Indian Republic were thus anticipated and realized twenty-three centuries ago!

Historians estimate greatness in rulers by different standards. The attempts made, with indifferent success, to compare As'oka with various great rulers, shows that he has some qualities which make him resemble each of them. The legends that he was a Buddhist propagandist and was a zealous votary of the new religion he had embraced suggests a comparison with Constantine. His intense sincerity and direct and almost abrupt speech (as recorded in the Edicts) suggest a resemblance to Oliver Cromwell. Austerity and a philosophical bias make for a comparison with Marcus Aurelius. His gentleness and chivalry seem to resemble the qualities of the mythical King Arthur. In spite of the decisive

Landmarks of  
the As'okan  
epoch

As'oka's place in  
history



conquest of Kalinga in *one* short campaign, no one has suggested a likeness between him and the great military leaders of history. Akbar's qualities are seen in his tolerance but what was the result of intellectual *curiosity* in Akbar is the result of deep and abiding religious *faith* in Asoka. The best way of appraising his worth is to judge him by the results of his rule. For over forty years the greatest empire of his time enjoyed peace and tranquility, freedom from external attacks and from internal disturbance, so much so that Asoka believed that the happy conditions would persist for generations. This was not due to luck or accident but to his unceasing labour for the public weal, wise statesmanship, a proper sense of values and unsurpassed moral integrity. Asoka was a great soul as well as a great king.

The carrying out of the Emperor's orders faithfully even in regions thousands of miles from Pāṭaliputra suggests good though slow means of communication and transport through the empire. The great monolithic pillars on which, after their erection as pillars of victory, *jayastambha*, he had the seven edicts incised would each weigh fifty tons. They are all from the stone quarries of Chunar Hills near Banaras. To have transported them over hundreds of miles, and over some of the broadest and deepest of unbridged North Indian rivers, suggests feats of engineering that cannot be surpassed even today. The finish of the columns, their beautiful capitals and their artistic excellence reflect high standards of artistic achievement.

The great Emperor was not the head of a vast region of uncivilized peoples. In his day no other area of the world enjoyed the same material prosperity, had such deep spirituality and a government so well-organized, benevolent and efficient. No! have later empires excelled that of Asoka. The success of the Emperor lay more in his conservation of the institutions of his father and grandfather and in making only such changes as were needed to suit the times. For a successful conqueror at the head of an immense army to uphold the ideal of universal peace, and to overcome the lust for fresh conquests are proofs of self-mastery. That this peace-lover was not indulging in a rhetorical statement when he said, "All people are my children," is proved by this act of transcendent restraint.

The great historian who described history as "little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind," was moved to enthusiasm when he summed up the features of the Age of the Antonines. If a man were called upon to fix the period in the history of the world when the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm and gentle hands of four successive emperors whose

Conclusion—  
Asoka and  
India's destiny

character and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty and were pleased to consider themselves the accountable ministers of the law. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the Republic had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by Bury, I, 78). It is to such an age that we might well compare the reign of Asoka, and in almost the same measure, the fifty years that preceded his accession.

Today, we are reviving almost unconsciously the ideals of Asoka and placing the emblems that adorned his pillars everywhere as those of reborn India. Our leaders preach to nations the message of peace and good will to all nations, and with great armed forces resist the temptation to engage in war even in the face of provocation. Fanaticism is met by tolerance. The lions that stood four-square on Asoka's columns as watchers of the quarters and as representing the noble 'lion of the Sākya' (*Sākyaśiṃha*), the Wheel of Dharma' (*Dharmacakra*) whose ceaseless revolution makes for the triumph of the higher over the lower in life, the lotus (*Padma*) whose beauty and fragrance reflect those of the righteous soul, the Elephant and the Bull, which denote strength tamed for beneficent human use, are all now among the cherished emblems of India. We are reviving unconsciously the ideal of

a common language for India, which Asoka had realized, as also of a common script. Like Asoka we are contacting foreign nations and endeavouring to convey to them the age-long messages of India. The Asokan ideal of the equality of all men before the law and in their claim to equal consideration by the State is implicit in the declaration of universal suffrage. We combine the autonomy of the component states with central supervision, control and guidance. Like Asoka we have effaced old political markings that divided the land into rival kingdoms.

In the face of vicissitudes that have been borne with fortitude and of harassment in a bellicose world which still thinks in terms of demoniac warfare (*āsuravijaya*), we look to the future with calmness and hope sustained by our feelings of good-will to all, and our faith in the high destiny of our motherland and in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. By accident or destiny we are moving on lines that made the Mauryan Age so memorable. The first President of the Indian Republic comes from Magadha, and the common language and script of India are those of that ancient kingdom which gave birth to Asoka. Like him we strive to overcome violence by non-violence, having like him learnt the futility and horror of even successful war. May the Power, that inspires morals and watches over the destinies of nations and of all living beings, help to bring to Bhāratavarṣa another Golden Age, reminiscent of the great and noble Emperor, who, in the plenitude of power and prosperity, held himself

to be the servant of Dharma and delighted to term himself as the seeker of the good of all others (*priyadarsi*) and therefore the Beloved of the Gods (*Devānāmpriya*)!

*Namo Dharmāya*

PHĀLGUNA-TIṢYA,

1st March, 1950,

3, *Asoka Road*,

New Delhi.

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प्रेयनृषिप्रहस्तयः

शिलालेखाः

ROCK EDICTS OF PRIYADARS'IN  
(AS'OKA)

## प्रथमो लेखः

१. इयं धम्मलिपि देवानं पियेना पियदसिना लेखिता [१]  
हिदा ना किछि जिवे आलभितु पजोहितविये [१]

२. नो पि चा समाजे कटविये [१] बहुका हि दोसा  
समाजसा देवानं पिये पियदसी लाजा दखति [१] अथि पि चा एकतिया  
समाज साधुमता देवानं पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने [१]

३. पुले महानससि देवानं पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने  
अनुदिवसं बहुनि पानसहसानि आलभियिसु सुपठाये [१] से इदानि यदा  
इयं धम्मलिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि आलभियंति

४. दुवे मजुला एके मिगे [१] से पि च मिगे नो धुवे [१]  
एतानि पि च तिनि पानानि नो आलभियिसंति [१]

1. Iyaṃ dhammalipi devānaṃ piyenā piyadasinā  
lekhitā [1] Hidā nā kichi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye [1]

2. No pi cā samāje kaṭaviye [1] Bahukā hi dosā  
samājasā devānaṃ piye piyadasī lājā dakhati [1] Athi  
pi cā ekatiyā samāja sādhumatā devānaṃ piyasā  
piyadasisā lājine [1]

3. Pule mahānasasi devānaṃ piyasā piyadasisā  
lājine anudivasam bahuni pānasahasāni ālabhiyisu  
supaṭhāye [1] Se idāni yadā iyaṃ dhammalipi lekhitā  
tadā timni yevā pānāni ālabhiyaṃti.

4. duve majulā eke mige [1] Se pi ca mige no  
dhuve [1] Etāni pi ca tini pānāni no ālabhiyaṃti [1]

## ROCK EDICT I

१. इयं धर्मलिपिर्देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिनः लेखिता इह न कश्चिज्जीव आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः ।

२. नापि च समाजः कर्तव्यो बहुकान् हि दोषान् समाजस्य देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा पश्यति । सन्त्यपि चैके समाजाः साधुमता देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः ।

३. पुरा महानसे देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञोऽनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राणसहस्राण्यालप्सत मूपार्थाय तदिदानीं यदा इयं धर्मलिपिलेखिता तदा त्रय एव प्राणा आलभ्यन्ते द्वौ मयूरावेको मृगः । सोपि च मृगो न ध्रुवः । एतेऽपि च त्रयः प्राणा नालप्स्यन्ते ॥

1. This edict on Dharma has been caused to be inscribed by command of Devānāmpriya Priyadars'i (King Priyadars'i, the beloved of the Gods).

Here no animal shall be killed or sacrificed.

2. Nor shall samājas (festive gatherings) be held, because King Devānāmpriya Priyadars'i sees many evils in such gatherings.

But there are certain samājas which are considered meritorious by King Devānāmpriya Priyadars'i.

3. Formerly, several thousands of animals were slaughtered for soups in the kitchen of King Devānāmpriya Priyadars'i. But, now, when this instruction on Dharma is being inscribed, only three lives (animals) are being killed : *i.e.* two peacocks and one deer ; even this deer is not slaughtered regularly. In future, even these three lives shall not be slaughtered.



## द्वितीयो लेखः

४. सवता विजितसि देवानं पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपंनि

५. अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानं पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा [१] ओसधानि मनुसोपगानि चा पशोपगानि च अतता नथि

६. सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा [१] एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा [१]

4. Savatā vijitasi devānaṃ piyasā piyadasisā lājine ye ca aṃtā athā coḍā paṇḍiyā sātiyaputo kelalaputo taṃbapaṃni

5. Aṃtiyoge nāma yona lājā ye cā aṃne tasā aṃtiyogasā sāmāntā lājāno savatā devānaṃ piyasā piyadasisā lājine duve cikisakā kaṭā manusacikisā cā pasucikisā cā [1] Osadhāni manusopagāni cā paśopagāni cā atatā nathi

6. savatā hālāpitā cā lopāpitā cā [1] Evamevā mulāni cā phalāni cā atatā nathi savatā hālāpitā cā

## ROCK EDICT II

१. सर्वत्र विजिते देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो ये चान्ता यथा चोडाः पाण्ड्याः सत्यपुत्रः केरलपुत्रस्ताम्रपर्णी अन्तियोको नाम यवनराज्ञो ये चान्ये तस्यान्तियोकस्य सामन्ता राजानः सर्वत्र देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो द्वे चिकित्से कृते मनुष्यचिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च ।

२. औषधानि मनुष्योपगानि च पशूपगानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च ।

३. एवमेव मूलानि च फलानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च ।

1. Everywhere in the conquered dominions of King Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, and the dominions on the borders as those of the Coḍas, the Pāṇdyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, Tāmbraparnī, the yavana king named Antiyoka and the other neighbouring kings of this Antiyoka, two kinds of medical treatment were established by King Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, *viz.* medical treatment for human beings and medical treatment for cattle.

2. Medicinal herbs useful for human beings and cattle have been imported and grown, wherever they were not available.

3. Similarly, roots and fruits have also been imported and caused to be grown, wherever they were not available (hitherto).

मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसु-  
मुनिसानं [1]

### तृतीयो लेखः

६. देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [1]

७. दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनपयिते [1] सवता विजि-  
तसि मम युता लजुके पादेशिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमंतु  
एतायेवा अथाये इमाये धंमनुसथिया यथा अंनाये पि कंमाये [1] साधु

८. मातापितिसु सुसुसा मितसंथुतनातिक्यानं चा बंभनसमनानं

lopāpitā cā [1] Magesu lukhāni lopitāni udupānāni cā  
khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasumunisānaṃ [1]

6. Devānaṃ piye piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā. [1]

7. Duvāḍasavasābhisitena me iyaṃ ānapayite [1]  
Savatā vijitasi mama yutā lajuke pādes'ike pañcasu  
pañcasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamamtu etāyevā  
athāye imāye dhammanusathiyā yathā amnāye pi  
kaṃmā ye [1] sādhu

8. mātāpitisu sususā mitasamthutanātikyānaṃ cā

४. मार्गेषु वृक्षा रोपिता उदपानानि च खानितानि प्रति-  
भोगाय पशुमनुप्याणाम् ।

### ROCK EDICT III

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह ।

२. द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इदमाज्ञप्तम् ।

३. सर्वत्र विजिते मम युक्ता रज्जुकाः प्रादेशिकाश्च प्रञ्चसु  
पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानं निष्क्रामन्तु एतस्मै अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुशिष्ट्यै यथा  
अन्यस्मा अपि कर्मणे ।

४. साधु मातापित्रोः शुश्रूषा । मित्रसंस्तुतज्ञातीनां च

4. For the use of men and cattle, trees have been  
grown and wells caused to be dug on the roads.

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods,  
speaks thus :

2. When I had been consecrated ruler for twelve  
years, the following order was issued ;

3. Everywhere in my dominions the imperial,  
provincial and local officers known as the Yuktas,  
Rajjukas and Prādes'ikas shall set out on tour, through-  
out their charges, once in five years, for the purpose of  
proclaiming the following instruction in Dharma and  
other business of state.

4. Meritorious is obedience to father and mother.  
Meritorious- is generosity to friends, acquaintances,

चा [१] साधु दाने [१] पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता  
साधु [१] पलिसापि च युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियं-  
जनते च [१]

### चतुर्थो लेखः

९. अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिनेवा पानालंभे  
विहिसा चा भुतानं नातिनं असंपटिपति समनबंभनानं असंपटिपति [१] से  
अजा देवानं पियसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंम-  
घोसे विमनदसना

१०. हथिनि अगिकंधानि अनानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दस-  
यितु जनस [१] आदिसे बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा

bambhanasamanānaṃ cā [1] Sādhu dāne [1] Pānānaṃ  
anālaṃbhe sādhu apaviyātā apabhaṃḍatā sādhu [1]  
Palisāpi ca yutāni gananasī anapayisanti hetuvatā cā  
viyaṃ janate ca [1]

9. Atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahunī vasasatāni vadhi-  
tevā pānālaṃbhe vihisā cā bhutānaṃ nātināṃ asaṃ  
patipati samanabambhanānaṃ asaṃpatipati [1] Se ajā  
devānaṃ piyasā piyadasine lājine dhammacalanenā  
bhelighose aho dhammaghose vīmanadasanā

10. hathini agikaṃdhāni aṃnāni cā divyāni lupāni  
dasayitu janasa [1] Ādisē bahuhi vasasatehi nā huta-

ब्राह्मणश्रमणानां च साधु दानम् । प्राणानामनालम्भः साधुः । अल्पव्ययता  
अल्पभाण्डता साधुः ।

५. परिषदोऽपि च युक्तान् गणने आज्ञापयिष्यन्ति हेतुतश्च  
व्यञ्जनतश्च ।

### ROCK EDICT IV

१. अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं, बहूनि वर्षशतानि वर्धित एव प्राणा-  
लम्भो विहिंसा च भूतानां ज्ञातीनामसंप्रतिपत्तिः श्रमणब्राह्मणानामसंप्रतिपत्तिः ।

२. तदद्य देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो धर्मचरणेन  
भेरीघोषोऽथो धर्मघोषो विमानदर्शनानि हस्तिनोऽग्निस्कन्धा अन्यानि च  
दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयितुं जनस्य ।

relatives, Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (Ascetics). Meri-  
torious is abstention from slaughter of animals. Meri-  
torious is the minimizing of expenditure and of  
possesions accumulated.

5. The Council of State shall order the state  
officers to register these rules for observation both  
in letter and spirit.

1. For hundreds of years in times past, slaughter  
of animals, cruelty to living beings, discourtesy to  
relatives and discourtesy to Śramaṇas (Ascetics) and  
Brāhmaṇas have been allowed to increase.

2. But now, on account of the practice of Dharma  
by King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, there is  
heard in place of the sound of war drums, the sound of  
proclamations of Dharma, exhibitions to the people  
of Vimānas, chariots, elephants, illuminations and  
divine representations.

वढिते देवानं पियसा पियदसिने लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं  
अविहिसा भुतानं नातिसु

११. संपटिपति बंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा [१]  
एसे चा अंने चा बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते । वधियिसति चेवा देवानं  
पिये पियदसि लाजा इमं धंमचलनं [१] पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्का  
चा देवानं पियसा पियदसिने लाजिने

१२. पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवक्कपं धंमसि सीलसि  
चा चिठितु धंमं अनुसासिसंति [१] एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं [१]

puluve tādise ajā vaḍhite devānaṃ piyasā piyadasine  
lājine dhammanusathiye anālaṃbhe pānānaṃ avihisā  
bhutānaṃ nātisu

11. saṃpaṭipati bambhanasamanānaṃ saṃpaṭi-  
pati mātāpitisu sususā [1] Ese cā aṃne cā bahuvidhe  
dhammacalane vadhite । Vadhiyisati cevā devānaṃ  
piye piyadaṣi lājā imaṃ dhammacalanaṃ [1] Puta ca  
kaṃ natāle cā paṇātikyā cā devānaṃ piyasā piyadasine  
lājine

12. pavaḍhayisaṃti ceva dhammacalanaṃ imaṃ  
āvakapaṃ dhammasi sīlasi cā ciṭṭhitu dhammaṃ  
anusāsisaṃti [1] Ese hi seṭṭhe kaṃmaṃ aṃ dhammānu-

३. यादृशं बहुभिर्वर्षशतैर्न भूतपूर्वं तादृशमद्य वर्धितो देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो धर्मानुशिष्ट्या अनालम्भः पाणानामविहिंसा भूतानां ज्ञातिषु संप्रतिपत्तिर्ब्राह्मणश्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिर्मातापित्रोः शुश्रूषा ।

४. एतच्चान्यच्च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्धितम् । वर्धयिष्यति चैव देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजेदं धर्मचरणम् । पुत्राश्च नप्तारश्च प्रनप्तारश्च देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः प्रवर्धयिष्यन्ति चैव धर्मचरणमिदं यावत्कल्पं, धर्मे शीले च तिष्ठन्तो धर्ममनुशासिष्यन्ति ।

3. By reason of the proclamation of Dharma of King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, there is now observed, what had not been observed for many hundreds of years in earlier times, abstention from slaughter of animals and from cruelty to living creatures, respect to relatives, respect to Brāhmaṇas and S'ramaṇas (Ascetics) and dutiful regard to mother and father.

4. The practice of Dharma has been promoted by this and other methods and in many ways. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, will ever promote the practice of Dharma ; and the sons, great grandsons and great great grandsons of King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, will increasingly promote the practice of Dharma, till the end of the present aeon (*kalpa*) ; and themselves abiding by Dharma and good conduct, will instruct the people in Dharma and good conduct.



धंमचलनेपि चा नो होति असिलसा [1] से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि  
चा साधु [1] एताये अथाये इयं लिखिते [1]

१३. इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु [1]  
दुवाडसवशाभिसितेना देवानं पियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता [1]

### पञ्चमो लेखः

१३. देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा अहा कयाने दुकले [1] ए  
आदि कले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति [1] से ममया बहु कयाने कटे [1]  
ता मम पुता चा नताले चा

१४. पलं चा ते हि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति

sāsanam [1] Dhammacalanepi cā no hoti asilasā [1]  
Se imasā athasā vadhi ahini cā sādhu [1] Etāye athāye  
iyam likhite [1]

13. Imasā athasā vadhi yujāntu hini ca mā  
alocayisu [1] Duvāḍasavas'ābhisitenā devānam piyenā  
piyadas'inā lājina lekhita [1]

13. Devānam piye piyadasī lājā ahā kayāne  
dukale [1] E ādi kale kayānasā se dukalam kaleti [1] Se  
mamayā bahu kayāne: kaṭe [1] Tā mama putā cā  
natāle cā

14. palam cā te hi ye apatiye me āvakapaṁ

५. एतद्धि श्रेष्ठं कर्म यद्धर्मानुशासनं, धर्मचरणमपि न भवत्य-  
शीलस्य । तदस्यार्थस्य वृद्धिरहानिश्च साधुः । एतस्मै अर्थयेदं लिखितम् ।

६. अस्यार्थस्य वृद्धिं युञ्जन्तु हानिं च मा आलोचयन्तु ।  
द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखितम् ।

### ROCK EDICT V

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा आह ।

२. कल्याणं दुष्करम् । यो यदि कुर्यात् कल्याणस्य स दुष्करं  
करोति । तन्मया बहु कल्याणं कृतं, तन्मम पुत्राश्च नप्तारश्च परं च तानि

5. This is the most meritorious work *i.e.* this instruction in Dharma. The practice of Dharma is not possible for one devoid of good conduct. Promotion of Dharma is ever meritorious, not its neglect. For this purpose this (edict) has been written.

6. Let people unitedly devote themselves for the increase of Dharma and not permit its decrease. This rescript was caused to be inscribed by Devānampriya Priyadars'in, when he had ruled as anointed king for twelve years.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, spoke thus :

2. It is very difficult to do a goodly (*kalyāṇam*) act. He who does it, accomplishes a very difficult task. Many benevolent actions have been done by me ; my sons and their descendants who follow me (in perform-

से सुकटं कळंति [1] ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति [1]  
पापे हि नाम सुपदालये [1] से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामाता  
नाम [1] तेदसवसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामाता कटा [1] ते सव-  
पासंडेसु वियापटा

१५. धंमाधिधानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये चा धंमयुतसा  
योनकंबोजगंधालानं एवापि अंने अपलंता [1] भटमयेसु बंभनिभेसु अनयेसु  
वुधेसु हिदसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते [1] बंधनवधसा  
पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुबधं पजाव ति वा

tathā anuvaṭṭisaṁṭi se sukaṭaṁ kachaṁti [1] E cu hetā  
desaṁ pi hāpayisati se dukaṭaṁ kachati [1] Pāpe hi  
nāma supadālaye [1] Se atikaṁtam aṁtalam no huta-  
puluva dhammamamahāmatā nāma [1] Tedasavasābhisi-  
tenā mamayā dhammamamahāmatā kaṭā [1] Te savapā-  
saṁḍesu viyāpaṭā

15. dhammādhithānāye cā dhammavaḍḍhiyā hida  
sukhāye cā dhammayutasā yonakaṁbojagandhālānaṁ  
evāpi aṁne apalaṁtā [1] Bhaṭamayesu baṁbhanibhesu  
anathesu vudhesu hidasukhāye dhammayutāye apali-  
bodhāye viyāpaṭā te [1] Baṁdhanavadhasā paṭividhā-  
nāye apalibodhāye mokhāye cā eyaṁ anubhadhaṁ  
pajāva ti vā

हि यान्यपत्यानि मे यावत्कल्पं तथानुवर्तिष्यन्ते तत्सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति । यस्त्वत्र देशमपि हापयिष्यति स दुष्कृतं करिष्यति । पापं हि नाम सुप्रचारम् ।

३. तदतिक्रान्तमन्तरं न भूतपूर्वा धर्ममहामात्रा नाम । त्रयो-  
दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया धर्ममहामात्राः कृतास्ते सर्वपाषण्डेषु व्यापृताः  
धर्माधिष्ठानाय च धर्मवृद्ध्या हितसुखाय च धर्मयुक्तस्य यवनकम्बोजगन्धा-  
राणाम् एवमप्यन्येऽपरान्ता भूतार्येषु ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु अनाथेषु वृद्धेषु हितसुखाय  
धर्मयुक्तस्य अपरिबाधाय व्यापृताः ते बन्धनबधस्य प्रतिविधानाय अपरि-  
बाधाय मोक्षाय च । एवमनुबन्धं प्रजावन्त इति वा कृताधिकारा इति वा

ing good deeds) till aeon's end, they do well ; and he who violates even a part of this command, does ill ; for it is easy to spread sin.

3. In the past, for a long time, officers called Dharmamahāmātras (to enforce the laws of Dharma) have not been in existence. When thirteen years had elapsed after my consecration as king, I appointed Dharmamahāmātras. They are commissioned to promote the welfare and Dharma among followers of all religions ; to promote the welfare and happiness of the virtuous, the Yavanas, the Kāmbhojas, the Gandhāras<sup>1</sup> and others on the borders ; to promote the welfare and happiness as among servant and master, Brāhmaṇas and the rich, the protectorless (*anātha*) and the aged ; to promote the welfare and remove troubles (*aparibādha*) of those engaged in Dharma ; to prevent (unjust) imprisonment and loss of life, and for safety and deliverance, giving due consideration to persons with large families or official

<sup>1</sup> Some add " the Rāṣṭrikas and Pīṭhikas."

१६. कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते [1]  
 हिदा बाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना  
 एवापि अने नातिक्ये सवता वियापटा [1] ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा  
 दानसंयुते ति वा सवता विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहा-  
 माता [1] एताये अठाये

१७. इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता [1] चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च  
 मे पजा अनुवतंतु [1]

### षष्ठो लेखः

१७. देवानं पिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [1] अतिकंतं  
 अंतलं नो हुतपुल्लवे सवं कालं अठकंमे वा पटिवेदना वा [1] से ममया  
 हेवं कटे [1] सवं कालं अदमनसा मे

16. Kaṭābhikāle ti vā mahālake ti vā viyāpaṭā  
 te [1] Hidā bāhilesu cā nagalesu savesu olodhanesu  
 bhātinam ca ne bhaginina evāpi amne nātikye savatā  
 viyāpaṭā [1] E iyaṁ dhammanisite ti vā dānasam̐yute  
 ti vā savatā vijitasi mamā dhammayutasi viyāpaṭā  
 te dhammamahāmātā [1] Etāye aṭhāye

17. iyaṁ dhammalipi lekhitā [1] Cilathitikyā hotu  
 tathā ca me pajā anuvataṁtu.

17. Devānam piye piyadasi lājā hevaṁ ahā [1]  
 Atikaṁtam aṁtalam no hutapuluve savam kalam  
 aṭhakam̐me vā paṭivedanā vā [1]. Se mamayā hevaṁ  
 kaṭe [1] Savam kalam adamanasā me

महान्त इति वा व्यापृताः । त इह बाह्येषु च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु  
 भ्रातृणां चान्ये भगिनीनामेवमध्यन्ये ज्ञातिषु सर्वत्र व्यापृताः ।

४. एवं धर्मनिश्चिता इति वा दानमंयुक्ता इति वा सर्वत्र  
 विजिते मम धर्मयुक्ता व्यापृतास्ते धर्ममहामात्राः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं  
 धर्मलिपिलेखिता चिरस्थितिका भवतु । तथा च मे प्रजा अनुवर्तन्ताम् ।

### ROCK EDICT VI

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह ।

२. अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वं कालमर्थकर्म वा प्रति-  
 वेदना वा । तन्मया एवं कृतं सर्वकालम् अदतो मे अवरोधने गर्भागारे  
 responsibilities or are high-souled. They are engaged  
 in supervising, here (at Pāṭalīputra), in (all) provincial  
 towns, in the inner apartments of my brothers and  
 sisters and other kinsmen.

4. Thus are employed in all my empire the  
 Dharmamahāmātras as devoted to Dharma and  
 Charity. For this purpose this edict has been caused to  
 be engraved. May it endure for long ages and may my  
 subjects act accordingly.

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods  
 speaks thus :

2. For a long time past, transactions of state  
 were not attended to or reports received, at all hours.  
 Now this arrangement has been made by me that during  
 all hours and in all places, whether I am dining or in  
 the Lady's apartments, or in the inner apartments,  
 or in the lavatory, or when riding, or in the garden,

१८. ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि  
सवता पटिवेदका अठं जनसा पटिवेदंतु मे [१] सवता जनसा अठं  
कळामि हकं [१] यं पि चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा  
सावकं वा ये वा पुना महामातेहि

१९. अतियायिके आ(लो)पितं होति तायेठाये विवादे निज्ञति  
वा संतं पलिसाये अनंतलियेना पटि(-वेदेत-)विये मे सवता सर्वं  
कालं हेवं आनपयिते ममया [१] नथि हि मे दोसे व उठानसा अठसंतिल-  
नाये चा [१] कटवियमुते हि मे सवलोकहिते [१] तसा पुना एसे  
मुले उठाने

२०. अठसंतिलना चा [१] नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहि-

18. Olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vacasī vinitasī uyā-  
nāsī savatā paṭivedakā aṭham janasā paṭivedamtu me [1]  
Savatā janasā aṭham kachāmi hakaṁ [1] Yaṁ pi cā  
kichi mukhate ānapayāmi hakaṁ dāpakam vā sāvakam  
vā ye vā punā mahāmātehi

19. atiyāyike ālopitam hoti tāyeṭhāye vivāde  
nijhati vā samtam palisāye anamṭaliyenā paṭi(vedeta)  
viye me savatā savam kālam hevaṁ ānapayite  
mamayā [1] Nathi hi me dose va uṭhānasā aṭhasamtila-  
nāye cā [1] Kaṭaviyamute hi me savalokahite [1] Tasā  
punā ese mule uṭhāne

20. aṭhasamtilanā cā [1] Nathi hi kaṁmatalā

वर्चसि विनीते उद्याने सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदका अर्थं जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु मे ।  
सर्वत्र जनस्यार्थं करिष्याम्यहम् ।

३. यदपि च किञ्चिन्मुखत आज्ञापयाम्यहं दापकं वा श्रावकं  
वा यद्वा पुनर्महामात्रैः आत्ययिके आ(ज्ञा)पितं भवति तस्मै अर्थाय  
विवादे निर्ध्यातौ वा सत्यां परिषदा आनन्तर्येण प्रति(वेदयि)तव्यं मे  
सर्वत्र सर्वकालम् ।

४. एवमाज्ञापितं मया । नास्ति हि मे तोषो वा उत्थानाय  
अर्थसंतरणाय च । कर्तव्यं मतं हि मे सर्वलोकहितम् । तस्य पुनरेतन्मूल-  
मुत्थानम् अर्थसंतरणं च । नास्ति हि कर्मान्तरं सर्वलोकहितेन ।

everywhere, the reporters should report to me the business of the people. I shall attend to it everywhere.

3. And when I issue orders orally to an officer appointed to make gifts or to an officer appointed for making proclamations or when orders have been ordered by great officials of the state (*Mahāmātras*) in an emergency, should there be a difference of opinion, or should the matter be in debate, it should be reported to me by the Council (*Parīṣad*) at all times and in all places.

4. I have ordered thus :

I am never completely satisfied with my work of wakefulness or despatch of business. I consider that I must work for the welfare of all people ; and the attainment of this is rooted in wakefulness and due despatch of business. There is no other work for me (more important) than doing what is good for the well-being



तेना [1] यं च किचि पलकमामि हकं [1] किति भुतानं अननियं येहं  
हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत चा स्वगं आलाधयितु [1] से एतायेठाये  
इयं धम्मलिपि लेखिता [1] चिलठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलक-  
मातु सवलोकहिताये [1]

२१. दुकले च इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना [1]

### सप्तमो लेखः

२१. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इछति सवपासंड

savalokahitenā [1] Yaṃ ca kici palakamāmi hakaṃ [1]  
Kiti bhutānaṃ ananiyaṃ yehaṃ hida ca kāni sukhā-  
yāmi palata cā svagaṃ ālādhayitu [1] Se etāyeṭhāye  
iyaṃ dhammalipi lekhitā [1] Cilathitikyā hotu tathā ca  
me putadāle palakamātu savalokahitāye [1]

21. Dukale ca iyaṃ anatā agenā palakamenā [1]

21. Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lājā savatā ichati

यत्किञ्चित् पराक्रमेहं, किमिति? भूतानामानृण्यमेयाम् इह च कांश्चित्  
सुखयामि परत्र च स्वर्गमाराधयितुम् ।

५. तदेतस्मा अर्थायेयं धर्मलिपिलेखिता चिरस्थितिका भवतु ।  
तथा च मे पुत्रदारं पराक्रमतां सर्वलोकहिताय । दुष्करं चेदमन्यत्राग्रयात्  
पराक्रमात् ।

### ROCK EDICT VII

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्रेच्छति सर्वे पाषण्डा  
वसेयुः ।

of all people. And why do I work as aforesaid? It is  
to see that I may discharge my debt to beings and that  
I may make some happy here (in this world) and they  
may hereafter gain heaven.

5. For this purpose this edict has been inscribed.  
May it endure for long. Likewise may my children  
and descendants continue their efforts for the welfare of  
all people.

This indeed is most difficult to achieve save by  
utmost exertion.

1. King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods,  
wishes that everywhere (in his dominions) members of  
all (religions and) sects may reside (together and har-  
moniously).

वसेवु [1] सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छंति जने चु उचावुचाच्छंदे  
उचावुचलागे [1] ते सवं एकदेसं पि कच्छंति [1] विपुले पि चु दाने  
असा नथि

२२. सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं [1]

### अष्टमो लेखः

२२. अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निख-  
मिसु [1] हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेदिसानि अभिलामानि हुसु [1]  
देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि [1]

savapāsaṁḍa vasevu [1] Save hi te sayamaṁ bhāva-  
sudhi cā ichaṁti jane cu ucāvucāchaṁde ucāvu  
calāge [1] Te savaṁ ekadesam pi kachaṁti [1] Vipule pi  
cu dāne asā nathi

22. sayame bhāvasudhi kiṭanāta diḍhabhatitā cā  
nice bāḍham [1]

22. Atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ devānaṁpiyā vihālayātaṁ  
nāma nikhamisu [1] Hidā migaviyā aṁnāni cā hedisāni  
abhilāmāni husu [1] Devānaṁpiye piyadasī lājā dasa-  
vasābhisite saṁtaṁ nikhamithā sambodhi [1]

२. सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं चेच्छन्ति, जनस्तूच्चावच-  
च्छन्द उच्चावचरागः । ते सर्वमेकदेशं वा करिष्यन्ति ।

३. विपुलमपि तु दानं यस्य नास्ति संयमो भावशुद्धिः  
कृतज्ञता दृढभक्तिता च नित्या बाढम् ।

### ROCK EDICT VIII

१. अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं देवानां प्रिया विहारयात्रां नाम निर-  
क्रमयन् । इह मृगव्या अन्यानि च ईदृशानि अभिरामाणि अभवन् ।

२. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः सन्  
निरक्रमीत् संबुद्धः ।

2. For, all desire in common to achieve mastery of the senses and purity of mind, however varied their desires and likings, high and low, may be. Some will attend to the performance of the whole of the law, and some, of only a part.

3. Even to those who are not in a position to make large gifts, mastery of the senses, purity of mind, gratitude and steadfast devotion are certainly essential.

1. Some time has passed since kings (*Devānāṃ-priyas*) went on what are called *vihāra-yātras* (pleasure-tours). In these *yātras*, there were huntings and other similar enjoyments.

2. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, became well-enlightened in wisdom (*Sambuddha*) when he had been consecrated ten years.

२३. तेनता धंमयाता [१] हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने च दाने च वुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमानुसथि चा धंमपलिपुछा च । ततोपया एसे भुये लाति होति देवानं-पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने [१]

### नवमो लेखः

२४. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा [;] जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति [१] आबाधसि अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाये पवाससि एताये

23. Tenatā dhammayātā [1] Hetā iyaṃ hoti samanabambhanānaṃ dasane ca dāne ca vudhānaṃ dasane ca hilaṃnapaṭivīdhāne cā jānapadasā janasā dasane dhammānusathi cā dhammapalipuchā ca [1] Tatopayā ese bhuye lāti hoti devānaṃpiyasā piyadasisā lājine bhāge aṃne [1]

24. Devānaṃpiye piyadasī lājā āhā [1] Jane ucā-vucaṃ maṃgalaṃ kaleti [1] Ābādhasi avāhasi vivāhasi

३. तेनात्र धर्मयात्रा । अत्रेदं भवति, श्रमणानां ब्राह्मणानां च दर्शनं च दानं च वृद्धानां दर्शनं च हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं च जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशिष्टिश्च धर्मपरिपृच्छा च ।

४. ततोऽपि या एषा भूयो रतिर्भवति देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः भाग्यमन्यत् ।

### ROCK EDICT IX

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा आह ।

२. जन उच्चावचं मङ्गलं करोति । आबाधे आवाहे विवाहे

3. Thereafter, tours inaugurated by him have been *Dharmayātras* (Tours of Piety). In these are performed visits to Śramaṇas (Ascetics) and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts to them, visits to elders (in wisdom), distribution of gold as alms, visits to the people of the rural divisions (*janapadas*), instruction in Dharma and discussions and questions on Dharma.

4. That these give greater pleasure to King Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, (than the huntings etc. of the previous *viḥarayātras*) is his another unique good fortune.

1. King Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, says (thus) :

2. People perform various ceremonies on occasions such as sickness, invitations at rites, marriage, birth of

अंनाये चा एदिसाये जने बहु मंगलं कलेति [1] हेत चु अबकजनियो बहु  
चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा निलथिया चा मंगलं कलंति [1]

२५. से कटविये चेव खो मंगले [1] अपफले वु खो एसे इयं  
चु खो महाफले ये धंममगले [1] हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्यापटिपति  
गुलुना अपचिति पानानं सयमे समनवंभनानं दाने । एसे अंने चा हेडिसे  
तं धंममगले नामा [1] से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि  
सुवामिकेना पि मितसंथुतेना (पि) आव पटिवेसियेना पि [1]

२६. इयं साधु इयं कटविये मगले आव तसा अथसा निवु-

pajopadāye pavāsasi etāye amnāye cā edisāye jane  
bahu maṅgalaṁ kaleti [1] Heta cu abakajaniyo bahu  
cā bahuvidham cā khudā cā nilathiyā cā maṅgalaṁ  
kalaṁti [1]

25. Se kaṭaviye ceva kho maṅgale [1] apaphale vu  
kho ese iyaṁ cu kho mahāphale ye dhammamagale [1]  
Hetā iyaṁ dāsabhaṭakasi samyāpaṭipati gulunā apaciti  
pānānaṁ sayame samanabambhānānaṁ dāne [1] Ese  
amne cā heḍise taṁ dhammamagale nāmā [1] Se vata  
viye pitinā pi putena pi bhātinā pi suvāmikenā pi mita-  
saṁthutenā (pi) āva paṭivesiyenā pi [1]

26. Iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye magale āva tasā

प्रजोत्पादे प्रवासे एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिन् च एतादृशे जनो बहु मङ्गलं करोति । इह तु अर्भकजनन्यो बहु च बहुविधं च शुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं कुर्वन्ति ।

३. तत्कर्तव्यं चैव खलु मङ्गलम्, अल्पफलं तु खल्वेतत् । इदं तु खलु महाफलं यद्धर्ममङ्गलम् । अत्रेदं दासभृतके सम्यक् प्रतिपत्तिः गुरुणामपचितिः प्राणानां संयमः श्रमणब्राह्मणानां दानम् । तदन्यच्चेदृशं तद्धर्ममङ्गलं नाम । तद्वक्तव्यं पित्रापि पुत्रेणापि भ्रात्रापि स्वामिनापि मित्रसंस्तुतेनापि यावत् प्रातिवेशिकेनापिः—

४. इदं साधु इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलं यावत्तस्यार्थस्य निर्वृत्तिः ।

children, and on the eve of departure on journeys. On this and other similar occasions they observe many auspicious ceremonies (rites); but the mothers of children perform various ceremonies which are petty and meaningless.

3. Such auspicious rites have certainly to be performed. But they bear small fruit. The *Dharma-maṅgala* (the ceremonial of Righteousness or Piety) bears, however, great fruit. It includes good treatment of slaves and servants, honour to *Gurus*, control of the *Prāṇas* and making gifts to *Sramaṇas* (Ascetics) and *Brāhmaṇas*. These and other similar acts constitute the ceremonial of Righteousness and Piety. By father, brother, son, master, friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour, this should be preached-*viz.* :

4. "This auspicious rite is meritorious and should be performed till the objective is achieved."



तिया [1] इमं कथमिति [?] एहि इवले मगले संसयिक्यं से (होति)  
 सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना नो हिदलोकिके चेव से [1] इयं  
 पुना धंममगले अकालिक्ये [1] हंचे पि तं अठं नो नि(व)टेति हिद अठं  
 पलत अनंतं पुनं पवसति [1] हंचे पुना तं अठं निवतेति हिद ततो उभयेसं

२७. लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलता चा अनंतं पुनं पसवति  
 तेना धंममगलेना [1]

### दशमो लेखः

२७. देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा-

athasā nivutiyā [1] Imam kathamiti [1] Ehi ivale  
 magale saṁsayikye se hoti siyā va tam aṭham nivateyā  
 siyā punā no hidalokike ceva se [1] Iyam punā dhamma-  
 magale akālikye [1] Hamce pi tam aṭham no ni(va)ṭeti  
 hida aṭham palata anantaṁ punnaṁ pasavati [1]  
 Hamce punā tam aṭham nivateti hida tato ubhayesaṁ

27. ladhe hoti hida cā se aṭhe palatā cā anantaṁ  
 punnaṁ pasavati tenā dhammamagalenā [1]

27. Devānaṁpiye piyadaṣi lājā yaṣo vā kiti vā no

५. इदं कथमिति ? इहापरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं तद्भवति । स्याद्वा तमर्थं निर्वर्तयेत्, स्यात् पुनर्नैहलौकिके चैव स्यात् । इदं पुनर्धर्ममङ्गलम् आकालिकम् । चेदपि तमर्थं नो निस्तिष्ठतीह अर्थं परत्रानन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते ।

६. चेत्पुनस्तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयतीह तत् उभयं लब्धं भवति । इह च सोऽर्थः परत्र चानन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते तेन धर्ममङ्गलेन ।

### ROCK EDICT X

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशो वा कीर्तिं वा न महार्थावहं मन्यतेऽन्यत्र ।

5. How and by what means is the objective to be achieved ? The auspicious ceremony performed now is of doubtful value. It may achieve the objective or it may not. In any case its fruit is of this world. But this *Dharmamaṅgala* (ceremonial of Righteousness and Piety) is of value at all times. Even if it does not bear fruit now, in this world, it produces unlimited fruit in other worlds.

6. If it also bears fruit here (in this world) then both objectives are secured by the performance of *Dharmamaṅgala* namely: the desired result here and endless merit hereafter.

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods, does not consider either fame or renown here as of great value in the life hereafter.

(हा) मनति अनता [1] यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्वाये  
अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियतु ति [1]  
एतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि

२८. लाजा यषो वा किति वा इछति [1] अं चा किछि  
पलकमति देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा त षवं पालतिक्वाये वा [;] किति [?]  
सकले अपपलिषवे षियाति ति [1] एषे चु पलिषवे ए अपुंने [1] दुकले  
चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेन उषुटेन वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना [1] षवं  
पलितिदितु [1] हेत चु खो.

२९. उषटेन वा दुकले [1]

### एकादशो लेखः

२९. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [1] नथि हेडिषे

mahathāvā(hā) manati anata [1] Yaṃ pi yaso vā  
kiti vā ichati tadatvāye ayatiye cā jane dhamma  
susuṣā susuṣātu me ti dhammavataṃ vā anuvīdhiyatu  
ti [1] Etakāye devānaṃpiye piyadasī

28. lājā yaṣo vā kiti vā ichati [1] Aṃ cā kichi  
palakamati devānaṃpiye piyadaṣi lajā ta ṣavaṃ  
pālātikyāye vā [1] Kiti [?] Sakale apapaliṣave ṣiyāti  
ti [1] Eṣe cu paṣave e apuṃne [1] Dukale cu kho eṣe  
khudakena vā vāgena uṣuṭena vā anata agenā palaka-  
menā [1] Ṣavaṃ palitiditu [1] heta cu kho

29. uṣaṭena vā dukale [1]

29. Devānaṃpiye piyadaṣi lājā hevaṃ āhā [1]

२. यदपि यशो वा कीर्तिं वेच्छति तदात्वे आयतौ च जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां शुश्रूषतां ममेति धर्मव्रतं वानुविधत्तामिति । एतत्कृते देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशो वा कीर्तिं वेच्छति । यच्च किञ्चित् पराक्रमते देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा तत्सर्वं पारत्रिकायैव ;

३. किमिति ? सकलोऽपपरिस्त्रवः स्यादिति । एष तु परिस्त्रवो यदपुण्यम् ।

४. दुष्करं तु खल्वेतत् क्षुद्रकेण वा वर्गेणोशता वा अन्यत्राभ्यात् पराक्रमात् ; सर्वं परित्यजतु । एतत्तु खलु उशता वा दुष्करम् ।

## ROCK EDICT XI

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह ।

2. The fame or renown he desires for is only this namely: that the people may now hear his service to *Dharma* and in future live accordingly. For this purpose only does King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, desire fame or renown. Whatever effort King Priyadars'in makes is all devoted to well-being in afterlife.

3. Why? It is that all people may be saved from the danger of bad living (*pariśrava*) which is meritless (*apunya*).

4. This is most difficult of accomplishment, by people whether high or lowly, save by supreme heroism, sacrificing all else ; but this is most difficult even to the highly placed.

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1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, speaks thus ;

दाने आदिषं धंमदाने धंमषंविभगे धंमषंबधे । [1] तत एषे दाषभटकषि  
षम्यापटिपति मातापितिषु पुषुषा मितषंथुतनातिकयानं समनाबंभनानं  
दाने

३०. पानानं अनालंभे [1] एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि  
भातिना पि पुवामिक्येन पि मितशंथुताना(तिक्येनापि) अवा पटिवेसि-  
येना पि [1] इयं साधु इयं कटविये [1] शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्के च कं  
आलधे होति पलत चा अनंत पुंना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना [1]

### द्वादशो लेखः

३०. देवानापिये पियदषि

३१. लाजा षवापाषंडानि पवजितानि गहथानि वा पुजेति

Nathi hediṣe dāne ādiṣaṃ dhammadāne dhammaṣaṃvi-  
bhage dhammaṣaṃbadhe [1] Tata eṣe dāṣabhaṭakaṣi  
ṣaṃyāpaṭipati mātāpitiṣu ṣuṣuṣā mitaṣaṃthutanātikyā-  
naṃ samanabambhanānaṃ dāne

30. pānānaṃ anālambhe [1] Eṣe vataviye piti-  
nā pi putena pi bhatinā pi ṣuvāmikyena pi mitaṣaṃthu-  
tānā(tikyenāpi) avā paṭivesiyenāpi [1] Iyaṃ sādhu  
iyaṃ kaṭaviye [1] S'e tathā kalamta hidalokikye ca kaṃ  
āladhe hoti palata cā anaṃta puṃnā paś'avati tenā  
dhammadānena [1]

30. Devānāpiye piyadaṣi

31. lājā ṣavāpāṣaṃḍāni pavajitāni gahaṭhāni vā

२. नास्तीदृशं दानं यादृशं धर्मदानं धर्मसंविभागो धर्मसंबन्धः ।

३. ततः एषा दासभृतके सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिर्मातापित्रोः शुश्रूषा मित्रसंस्तुतज्ञातिकानां श्रमणब्राह्मणानां दानं प्राणानामनालम्भः ।

४. एतद् वक्तव्यं पित्रापि पुत्रेणापि भ्रात्रापि स्वामिनापि मित्र-संस्तुतज्ञातिकेनापि यावत् प्रातिवेशिकेनापि—“ इदं साध्विदं कर्तव्यम् ” ।

५. स तथा कुर्वन् ऐहलौकिकं च आराद्धवान् भवति । परत्र चानन्तं पुण्यं प्रसूते तेन धर्मदानेन ।

## ROCK EDICT XII

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वान् पाषण्डान् प्रव्रजितान् गृहस्थांश्च पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया ।

2. There is no gift that can equal in merit the gift of Dharma, the distribution of Dharma and establishing relationship through Dharma.

3. From it follow the right treatment of slaves and servants, service to mother and father, gifts to friends, comrades, kinsmen, Sramanas (Ascetics) and Brāhmanas and abstention from slaughter of animals.

4. Even by father, by son, by brother, by master, by friend, by comrade, by kinsmen or by neighbour, it ought to be said :

“ This is meritorious. This ought to be done.”

5. One acting in this manner secures happiness in this world ; and endless merit in the other world also is produced by this gift.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods,

दानेन विविधेन च पुजाये [१] नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये  
मनति अथा किति [?] शालावढि शियाति शवपाशंडानं [१] शालावढि  
ना(म) बहुविधा [१] तश चु इयं मुले अ वचगुति [;] किति [?] त(था)  
अतपाशंडे पुजा वा पलपाशंडगलहा व नो शिया

३२. अपकलनशि लहुका वा शिया [१] तशि तशि पकलनशि  
पुजेतविय चु पलपाशडा तेन (ते)न अकालन [१] हेव कलत अतपाशडा  
बाढं वढियति पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति [१] तदनथ कलत अतपाशड  
च छनति पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति [१] ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनति

pujeti dānena vividhena ca puṇāye [१] No cu tathā  
dāne vā puṇā vā devānampiye manati athā kiti ? [१]  
Sālāvaḍhi s'iyāti s'avapās'amḍānam [१] Sālāvaḍhi  
nā(ma) bahuvidhā [१] Tas'a cu iyaṁ mule a vacaguti [१]  
Kiti [?] Tathā atapās'amḍe puṇā vā palapās'amḍa-  
galahā va no s'iyā

32. apakalanasi lahukā vā s'iyā [१] Tasi tasi  
pakalanasi puṇetaviya cu palapās'aḍā tena tena akā-  
lana [१] Heva kalata atapās'aḍā bāḍham vaḍhiyati  
palapās'aḍa pi vā upakaleti [१] Tadanatha kalata ata-  
pās'aḍa ca chanati palapās'aḍa pi vā apakaleti [१]  
Ye hi kecha atapās'aḍa punati

२. न तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानां प्रियो मन्यते यथा किमिति । सारवृद्धिः स्यादिति सर्वपाषण्डानाम् ।

३. सारवृद्धिर्ना(म) बहुविधा ।

४. तस्य त्विदं मूलं यद् वचोगुप्तिः ; किमिति ? त(था) आत्मपाषण्डे पूजा वा परपाषण्डगर्हा च न स्यात् अप्रकरणे लघुता वा स्यात् ।

५. तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् प्रकरणे पूजयितव्यास्तु परपाषण्डास्तेन तेना-  
कारेण । एवं कुर्वन् आत्मपाषण्डान् बाढं वर्धयति परपाषण्डानपि वोपक-  
रोति । तदन्यथा कुर्वन् आत्मपाषण्डं च छिनत्ति परपाषण्डानपि वापकरोति ।

reverences persons of all sects, Ascetics and house-  
holders, by gifts and with various forms of reverence.

2. But, the beloved of the gods does not value  
either gifts or reverential offerings so much as that of  
an increase of the spiritual strength of the followers of  
all religions.

3. This increase of spiritual strength is of many  
forms.

4. But the one root is the guarding of one's  
speech so as to avoid the extolling of one's own religion  
to the decrying of the religion of another, or speaking  
lightly of it without occasion or relevance.

5. As proper occasions arise, persons of other  
religions should also be honoured suitably. Acting in  
this manner, one certainly exalts one's own religionist  
and also helps persons of other religions. Acting in a  
contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and  
and also does disservice to the religions of others.



३३. पलपाशड वा गलहति षवे अतपाषंडभतिया वा [;]  
 किति[?] अतपाषंड दिपयेम । षे च पुना तथा कलंतं बाढतले उपहंति  
 अतपाषंडषि । [1] षमवाये व षाधु [;] किति [?] अंनमनषा धंमं पुनेयु  
 चा पुषुषेयु चा ति [1] हेवं हि देवानंपियषा इछा [1] किति [?]

३४. सवपाषंड बहुषुता चा कयानाग(म)। च हुवेयु ति [1] ए च  
 तत तत पषंना तेहि वतविये देवानापिये नो तथा दानं वा पुजा वा  
 मंनति [1] अथा किति [1] षालावढि शिया षवपाषंडानं ति । बहुका चा  
 एतायाठाये वियापटा धंममहामाता इथिधियखमहामाता वचभुमिक्या अने  
 वा निकाया [1]

33. palapāśaḍa vā galahati ṣave atapāṣaṁḍabha-  
 tiyā vā [1] Kiti [1] Atapāṣaṁḍa dipayema । Ṣe ca punā  
 tathā kalaṁtaṁ bāḍhatale upahaṁti atapāṣaṁḍaṣi [1]  
 Ṣamavāye va ṣādhu [1] Kiti [1] Aṁnamanaṣā dhammaṁ  
 ṣuneyu cā ṣuṣuṣeyu cā ti [1] Hevaṁ hi devānaṁpiyaṣā  
 ichā [1] Kiti [?]

34. Savapāṣaṁḍa bahuṣutā cā kayānāgamā ca  
 huveyu ti [1] E ca tata tata paṣaṁnā tehi vaṭaviye  
 devānāpiye no tathā dānaṁ vā puja vā maṁnati [1]  
 Athā kiti [1] Ṣālāvaḍhi ṣiyā ṣavapāṣaṁḍānaṁ ti [1]  
 Bahukā cā etāyāṭhāye viyāpaṭa dhammamahāmātā  
 ithidhiyakhamahāmātā vacabhumikyā ane vā nikāyā [1]

६. यो हि कश्चिदात्मपाषण्डान् पूजयति परपाषण्डान् वा गर्हयति सर्व आत्मपाषण्डभक्त्या वा, किमिति? आत्मपाषण्डान्दीपयेम । स च पुनस्तथा कुर्वन् बाढतरमुपहन्त्यात्मपाषण्डे ।

७. समवाय एव साधुः, किमिति अन्यमनसो धर्मं शृणुयुश्च शुश्रूषेरंश्चेति ।

८. एवं हि देवानां प्रियस्येच्छा, किमिति? सर्वपाषण्डा बहुश्रुताः कल्याणागमाश्च भवेयुरिति । ये च तत्र तत्र प्रसन्नास्तैर्वक्तव्यम् । देवानां प्रियो न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते, यथा किमिति सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपाषण्डानामिति ।

९. बहुकाश्च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृता धर्ममहामात्राः स्यध्यक्ष-

6. One who reverences one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all other religions does injure one's own religion more certainly.

7. It is verily concord of all religions that is meritorious as persons of other ways of thinking may thereby hear the Dharma and serve its cause.

8. This is the desire of Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) that the followers of all religions should be well versed therein and hold sound and righteous doctrines and that in diverse places this should be stated by those present :

“Devānāmpriya does not value gifts and reverential offerings so much as the increase in the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions.”

9. For this purpose several officers are engaged :

३५. इयं च एतिषा फले यं अतपाषंडवदि चा होति धंमष चा दिपना [1]

### त्रयोदशो लेखः

३५. अठवषाभिसितषा देवानंपियष पियदषिने लाजिने कलिग्या विजिता [1] दियढमाते पानषतषहशे ये तफा अपवुढे शतषहषमाते तत हते बहुतावंतके वा मटे [1] तता पछा अधुना लधेषु कलिग्येषु तिवे धंमवाये

३६. धंमकामता धंमानुषथि चा देवानंपियषा [1] षे अथि

35. Iyaṃ ca eṭiṣā phale yaṃ atapāṣaṃḍavaḍhi cā hoti dhammaṣa cā dipanā [1]

35. Aṭhavaṣābhisitaṣā devānaṃpiyaṣa piyadaṣiṇe lājine kaligyā vijitā [1] Diyaḍhamāte pānaṣataṣahas'e ye taphā apavudhe s'ataṣahaṣamāte tata hate bahu-tāvaṃtake vā maṭe [1] Tatā pachā adhunā ladheṣu kaligyeṣu tive dhammavāye

36. dhammakāmatā dhammānusathi cā devānaṃ-

महामात्रा व्रात्यभूमिका अन्ये वा निकायाः । इदं चैतेषां फलं यदात्मपा-  
षण्डवृद्धिश्च भवति धर्मस्य च दीपना ।

### ROCK EDICT XIII

१. अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तस्य देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः  
कलिङ्गा विजिताः । अध्यर्धमानं प्राणशतसहस्रं यत्ततोपव्यूढं शतसहस्र-  
मात्रास्तत्र हता बहुतावत्का वा मृताः ।

२. ततः पश्चादधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्मपालनं धर्म-  
कर्म च धर्मानुशिष्टिश्च देवानां प्रियस्य ।

*e.g.* Dharmamahāmātras (Censors of Dharma), Mahā-  
mātras for Women's welfare, Inspectors of Cowpens  
and other officers. The fruit of these measures is the  
promotion of one's own religion and the glorification  
of Dharma.

1. The Kaliṅga country was conquered by King  
Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, when he had been  
consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty  
thousand persons were carried away as captives and one  
hundred thousand slain and many times that number  
died.

2. After that, the Kaliṅgas being now secure,  
Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) is devoted to  
*Dharmapālana* (the protection of Dharma), *Dharma-*  
*karma* (action according to Dharma), and *Dharmā-*  
*nusīṣṭi* (imparting of instruction in Dharma).

अनुषये देवानंपियषा विजिनितु कलिग्यानि [1] अविजितं हि विजिन-  
मने ए तता वध वा मलने वा अपवहे वा जनषा [1] षे बाढ वेदनियमुते  
गुलुमुते चा देवानंपियषा [1] इयं पि चु ततो गलुमततले देवानंपियषा [1]

३७. ये तता वषति बंभना व षमना वा अने वा पाशंड  
गिहिथा वा येशु विहिता एष अगभुतषुषुषा मातापितृषुषुषा गलुषु[षु]षा  
मितषंथुतषहायनातिकेषु दाशभतकषि षम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता [1] तेषं  
तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने

piyaṣā [1] Ṣe athi anuṣaye devānaṃpiyaṣā vijinitu  
kaligyāni [1] Avijitaṃ hi vijinamane e tatā vadha vā  
malane vā apavahe vā janaṣā [1] Ṣe bāḍha vedaniya-  
mute gulumute cā devānaṃpiyaṣā [1] Iyaṃ pi cu tato  
galumatatale devānaṃpiyaṣā [1]

37. Ye tatā vaṣati bāmbhanā va ṣama(nā) vā ane  
vā pāṣaṃḍa gihithā vā yeṣu vihitā eṣa agabhutaṣuṣuṣā  
mātāpitiṣuṣuṣā galuṣuṣuṣā miṭaṣaṃthutaṣaḥāyanātikeṣu  
dāśabhatakaṣi ṣamyāpaṭipati diḍhabhatitā [1] Teṣaṃ  
tatā hoti upaghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānaṃ vā vini-  
khamane

३. तदस्त्यनुशोचनं देवानां प्रियस्य विजेतुः कलिङ्गान् अविजितं हि विजितं मन्ये यत्तत्र वधो वा मरणं वा अपवाहो वा जनस्य । तद्वाढं वेदनीयमतो गुरुमतं च देवानां प्रियस्य ।

४. इदमपि तु ततो गुरुमततरं देवानां प्रियस्य । ये तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणा वा श्रमणा वा अन्ये वा पाषण्डा गृहस्था वा येषु विहितैषा अग्रचवृद्धशुश्रूषा मातापितृशुश्रूषा गुरूणां शुश्रूषा मित्रसंस्तुतसहायज्ञातिषु दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिर्ददभक्तिता ।

५. तेषां तत्र भवति उपघातो वा वधो वा अभिरतानां वा

3. Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) the conqueror of Kaliṅgas has remorse now, because of the thought that the conquest is no conquest, for there was killing, death or banishment of the people (in such a conquest). That is keenly felt with profound sorrow and regret by Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods).

4. But, to Devānāmpriya, (the beloved of gods), what is worse than this is, that there dwell in that country, Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas (Ascetics) and followers of other religions and householders who have the duty of rendering due service to elders, due service to mother and father and due service to *Gurus* (teachers), of showing proper courtsey to friends, comrades, companions and relatives, as also to slaves and servants, and firm devotion to Dharma.

5. To these, injury or death or deportation of beloved relations may happen (in the war). The

३८. येषं वा पि षंविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने एतानं मितशंथुतषहायनातिक्वया वियषने पापुनाति [१] तत षे पि तानमेव उपघाते होति [१] पटिभागे चा एष षवमनुशानं गुलुमते चा देवानं-पियषा [१] नथि चा षे जनपदे यता नथि इमे निकाया आनंता योनेषु

३९. बंहने चा षमने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि मनुषानं एकतलषि पि पाषडषि नो नाम पषादे [१] षे आवतके जने तदा कर्लिङेषु लषेषु हते चा मटे चा अपवुढे चा तता षते भागे वा षहषभागे वा अज गुलुमते वा देवानंपियषा [१]

१. . . . .

२. . . . .

38. yeṣaṁ vā pi ṣaṁvihitānaṁ ṣinehe avipahine etānaṁ mitas'amthutaṣahāyanātikyā viyaṣane pāpu-  
nāti [1] Tata ṣe pi tānameva upaghāte hoti [1] Paṭi-  
bhāge cā eṣa ṣavamanuśānaṁ gulumate cā devānaṁ-  
piyaṣā [1] Nathi cā ṣe janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā  
ānaṁtā yoneṣu

39. baṁhane cā ṣamane cā nathi cā kuvāpi jana-  
padaṣi yatā nathi manuśānaṁ ekatalaṣi pi pāṣaḍaṣi no  
nāma paṣāde [1] Ṣe āvatake jane tadā kalimṅeṣu  
ladheṣu hate cā maṭe cā apavudhe cā tatā ṣate bhāge  
vā ṣaḥaṣabhāge vā aja gulumate vā devanaṁpiyaṣā [1]

1. . . . .

2. . . . .

निष्क्रमणम् । येषां वापि संविहितानां स्नेहः अविप्रहीण एतेषां मित्रसंस्तुत-  
सहायज्ञातीया व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति तत्सोपि तेषामेवोपघातो भवति ।  
प्रतिभागं चैतत् सर्वमनुष्याणां गुरुमतं च देवानां प्रियस्य ।

६. नास्ति च स जनपदो यत्र न सन्तीमे निकाया आज्ञप्ताः ।  
यवनेषु ब्राह्मणे वा श्रमणे वा नास्ति च कापि जनपदे यत्र नास्ति  
मनुष्याणामेकतरस्मिन्नपि पाषण्डे न नाम प्रसादः ।

७. स यावाञ्जनस्तदा कलिङ्गेषु लब्धेषु हतश्च मृतश्चापव्यूढश्च ततः  
शतभागो वा सहस्रभागो वा अद्य गुरुमत एव देवानां प्रियस्य । (योऽपि  
च अपकरोति क्षन्तव्य एव मतो देवानां प्रियस्य यः शक्यः क्षमणाय ।

friends, comrades, companions and relatives who still retain undiminished affection to those affected by the war feel greatly pained by the calamity that befall them. This may befall all men and is considered deplorable by Devānāmpriya.

6. There is no part of the world where groups of officers under my orders do not exist. Nor is there any part of any country—whether it be of the Yavanas, Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas (Ascetics)—where there is any individual who is not attached to one form of religion or another.

7. Now, even the loss of a hundredth or even a thousandth part of all the lives that were killed or died or carried away captive at the time when Kaliṅgas were conquered—is considered deplorable by Devānāmpriya.

Devānāmpriya considers that even he who wrongs him, is fit to be forgiven of wrongs that can be



३. नेयु इछ(ति) . . . . .

४. षवभु(तानं) . . . षयम षमचलियं मदव ति [1]

इयं चु मु . . . . .

५. देवानंपियषा ये धंमविजये [1] षे च पुना लधे देवानंपि-  
(यसा हिद) च

६. षवेषु च अतेषु अषषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे  
नाम योनला(जा) . . पलं चा तेना

७. अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अंतेकिने  
नाम मका ना (-)

८. म अलिक्यषुदले नाम [,] निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंबपंनिया  
हेवमेव

3. . neyu icha[ti] . . . . .

4. ṣavabhu [tānaṁ] . . . ṣayama ṣama-  
caliyaṁ madava ti [1] Iyaṁ cu mu . . . . .

5. devānaṁpiyaṣā ye dhammavijaye [1] Ṣe ca  
punā ladhe devānaṁpi(yaṣā hida) ca

6. ṣaveṣu ca ateṣu aṣaṣu pi yojanaṣateṣu ata  
atiyoge nāma yonalā(jā) . . palam cā tenā

7. aṁtiyogenā catāli 4 lajāne tulamaye nāma  
aṁtekiṇe nāma makā nā[-]

8. ma alikyaṣudale nāma [,] nicaṁ coḍapaṁḍiyā  
avaṁ taṁbapaṁniyā hevameva

योपि चाटविकः देवानां प्रियस्य विजितो भवति तमप्यनुनयत्यनुनिध्यायति । अनुतापेऽपि च प्रभावो देवानां प्रियस्य उच्यते तस्य । किमित्यपत्रपेरन्न च हन्येरन् । इच्छति हि देवानां प्रियः सर्वभूतानामक्षतिं संयमं समचर्या मोदवृत्तिम् ।

८. एतच्च मुख्यभूतं विजये)' देवानां प्रियस्य यो धर्मविजयः । स च पुनर्लब्धो देवानां प्रियस्येह च सर्वेषु चान्तेष्वष्टस्वपि योजनशतेषु यत्र अन्तियोको नाम यवनराजः परं च तस्मादन्तियोकाच्चत्वारो राजानस्तुरमयो नाम अन्तिकोनो नाम मगो नाम अलिकसुन्दरो नाम नीचाः चोडाः

forgiven. And, even the forest inhabitants included in the dominions of Devānāmpriya, who submit, he pacifies and converts (by kindly methods), duly informing them of his power to punish them, in spite of his compassion. And what for? In order that they may feel ashamed of their past conduct, and not be killed. Because Devānāmpriya desires that all beings should be left unhurt, should have self-control, have equal (impartial) treatment and should lead happy lives.

8. To Devānāmpriya *Dharmavijaya* (Dharma-conquest) is the most important conquest. And this conquest has been won repeatedly by Devānāmpriya, here among all the tribes living on the borders of his territories, in the country of Antiyoka, the Yavana king living eight hundred *yojanas* away, and among four other kings living beyond the territories of Antiyoka, such as Turamaya (Ptolemy),<sup>2</sup> Antikona (Antigonos Gonatus),<sup>3</sup> Maga (Magas)<sup>1</sup> and Alikasundara

<sup>1</sup> ( ) - Restored from Shahbazgarhi.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B. C. 285—247).

<sup>3</sup> Antigonos Gonatus of Macedonia (B. C. 276—239).

<sup>1</sup> Magas of Cyrene (B. C. 300—250).

९. हिद लाजाविशवजि योनकंबोजेषु नाभके नाभपंतिषु भोज-  
पितिनिक्वेषु

१०. अधपालदेषु षवता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषथि अनुवतंति [1]  
यत पि दुता

११. देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपियषा धमवुतं विधनं

१२. धंमानुसथि धमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिसंति चा [1] ये  
से लधे

१३. एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से [1] गधा सा  
होति पिति पिति धंमविजय [-]

१४. षि [1] लहुका चु खो सा पिति [1] पालंतिक्यमेव महफलं  
मंनति देवानंपिये [1]

9. hida lājāvis'avaji yonakambojeṣu nābhake  
nābhapaṃtiṣu bhojapitinikyeṣu \*

10. adhapāladeṣu ṣavatā devānaṃpiyaṣā dham-  
mānuṣaṭhi anuvataṃti [1] Yata pi dutā

11. devānaṃpiyaṣā no yaṃti te pi sutu devānaṃ-  
piyaṣā dhamavutaṃ vidhanaṃ

12. dhammānuṣaṭhi dhammaṃ anuvidhiyaṃti  
anuvidhiyaṃti cā [1] Ye se ladhe

13. etakenā hoti savatā vijaye pitilase se [1]  
Gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhammavijaya-

14. ṣi [1] Lahukā cu kho sā piti [1] Pālaṃtikya-  
meva mahaphalaṃ maṃnati devānaṃpiye [1]

पाण्ड्या एवं ताम्रपर्णीयाः । एवमेव इह राजविषयेषु यवनकम्बोजेषु  
नाभके नाभप्रान्तेषु भोजपितिनिक्वेषु अन्ध्रपुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानां प्रियस्य  
धर्मानुशिष्टिमनुवर्तन्ते । यत्रापि दूता देवानां प्रियस्य न यन्ति तत्रापि  
श्रुत्वा देवानां प्रियस्य धर्मवृत्तं विधानं धर्मानुशिष्टिं धर्ममनुविदधत्यनुविधा-  
स्यन्ति च ।

९. यत्तल्लब्धमेतावता भवति सर्वत्र विजयः प्रीतिरसः सः ।  
गाढा सा भवति प्रीतिः प्रीतिर्धर्मविजये । लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीतिः ।  
पारत्रिकमेव महाफलं मन्यते देवानां प्रियः ।

(Alexander);<sup>1</sup> and in the south the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Tāmbraparnīyas; so also here in the King's territories, among the Yavanas and Kāmbhojas, the Nābhakas and the Nābhapaṅktis, among the Bhojas, the Piṭanikyās, Āndhras and Pulindas—in all these places, people conform to Devānāmpriya's instruction in Dharma. People, in even those countries where the envoys of Devānāmpriya have not reached, having heard of the conduct of Dharma by Devānāmpriya, his method of ordinances and instruction in Dharma, follow it and will follow it.

9. What has been obtained by this conquest everywhere creates (satisfaction and) affection. This affection is firmly established as it is won by conquest by Dharma. But this satisfaction is comparatively less; for Devānāmpriya attaches the greatest value, only to the fruits of the other world.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander of Epirus (B. C. 272—255), or Alexander of Corinth (B. C. 252—244).

१५. एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता [;] किति [?]  
पुता पापोता मे असु ....

१६. नवं विजय म विजयं तविय मनिषु [1] षयकषिनो विजयषि  
खंति चा लहु [-]

१७. दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये [1]  
षे हिदलोकिक्यपललो [-]

१८. किक्ये [1] षवा च कं निलति होतु उयामलति [1] षा हि  
हिदलोकिकपललोकिक्या [1]

15. Etāye cā aṭhāye iyaṃ dhammalipi likhita [;]  
Kiti [?] putā pāpotā me asu . . . . .

16. navaṃ vijaya ma vijayaṃ taviya maṇiṣu [1]  
Ṣayakaṣino vijayaṣi khaṃti cā lahu (-)

17. daṇḍatā cā locetu tameva cā vijayaṃ manatu  
ye dhammavijaye [1] Ṣe hidalokikyapalalo-

18. kikyē [1] Ṣavā ca kaṃ nilati hotu uyāmalati  
[1] Ṣā hi hīdalokikapalalokikyā [1]

१०. एतस्मै चार्थायेयं धर्मलिपिलिखिता । किमिति ? पुत्राः  
प्रपौत्रा मे श्रृणुयुः नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मन्येरन् । शराकर्षिणो  
विजये शान्तिं च लघुदण्डतां च रोचयन्ताम् । तमेव च विजयं मन्यन्तां  
यो धर्मविजयः । स ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिकः । सर्वा च निरतिर्भवतु या  
उद्यमरतिः । सा हि ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिकी ।

10. This rescript on Dharma has been written for the purpose that my sons and great grandsons who will hear about my new conquests should not consider that further conquest is to be undertaken. If there has to be conquest, through weapons of war, let them take pleasure (after their victory) in peace (*sānti*) and light corrective measures. They should consider that the only true conquest is conquest by Dharma.<sup>1</sup>

This is good for all in this world and in the next. Let all their devotion be in the pleasure of exertion. For, that is good for life in this world and in the next.

<sup>1</sup> The old interpretation of the term *Dharmavijaya* as 'victory of the moral law' has often been questioned and held as incompatible with the trend of the meaning of the As'okan edicts. Here the term is interpreted as 'conquest by Dharma' which is supported by the texts in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sānti*, ch. 59, 38) and the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (bk. XII, ch. 1) which recognize three kinds of *vijayas* or conquests: (1) *Dharmavijaya* is that of a just conqueror who is satisfied with mere obeisance (as in the case of the Rājasūya and As'vamedha sacrifices); (2) *Lobhavijaya* or the greedy conqueror who is satisfied with what he can gain *safely* in land and treasures; (3) *Āsuravijaya* or the demon-like conqueror whose intention is to capture all that belongs in land, treasure etc. and to kill the enemy king. The object of As'oka was to adopt the first of these three, namely *Dharmavijaya*. (V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, 1932, pp. 128-130).

## चतुर्दशो लेखः

१९. इयं धमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदषिना लजिना लिखा-  
पिता [१] अथि येवा सुखि[-]

२०. तेना अथि मझिमेना अथि विथटेना [१] नो हि सवता सवे  
घटिते [१] महालके हि वि [-]

२१. जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निवयं [१] अथि  
चा हेता पुनं पुन लपि [-]

२२. ते तष तषा अथषा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटि-  
पजेया [१] षे षिया अत किछि अ [-]

२३. समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखायकालनं वा अलोचयितु  
लिपिकलपलाधेन वा [१]

19. Iyaṃ dhamalipi devānaṃpiyenā piyadaṣiṇā  
lajinā likhāpitā [1] Athi yevā sukhi-

20. tenā athi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā [1] No  
hi savatā save ghaṭite [1] Mahālake hi vi-

21. jite bahu ca likhite lekhāpesāmi ceva nik-  
yaṃ [1] Athi cā hetā punaṃ puna lapi-

22. te taṣa taṣā athaṣā madhuliyāye yena jane  
tatha paṭipajeyā [1] Ṣe ṣiyā ata kichi a-

23. samati likhite diṣā vā ṣaṃkhāyakālanam vā  
alocayitu lipikalapalādhena vā [1]

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१. इयं धर्मलिपिर्देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता ।  
 अस्त्येव संक्षिप्तेन अस्ति मध्यमेन अस्ति विस्तृतेन । न हि सर्वत्र सर्वं  
 घटितम् । महालोको हि विजितो बहु च लिखितम् । लेखयिष्यामि चैव  
 नित्यम् । अस्ति चात्र पुनः पुनर्लिखितं तस्य तस्यार्थस्य माधुर्याय येन  
 जनस्तथा प्रतिपद्येत । तत्स्यादत्र किञ्चिदसमाप्तं लिखितमसदृशं वा  
 संशयकारणं वा आलोचयतु लिपिकरापराधेन वा ॥

This *Dharmalipi* (edict on Dharma) has been caused to be inscribed by King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods. Some of these are abridged, some are of the middle order, and some are inscribed in full. The whole is not suited to all places. A wide country has been conquered and much has been inscribed. I propose to have still more written constantly. Some of these have been written again and again for the sweetness of the teachings and with intent that they may make an appeal to the people to follow the teachings. That some of these are engraved incompletely or wrongly, or in a doubtful manner, may be considered as due to the mistake of the scribe.



## प्रथमः कलिङ्गलेखः

१. देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
२. वतविय [:] अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि [:]  
किंति [?] कंमन पटिवेदयेहं
३. दुवालते च आलमेहं एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि  
अठसि अं तुफेसु
४. अनुसथि [I] तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयता [I]  
पनयं गछेम सुमुनिसानं [I] सवे
५. मुनिसे पजा ममा [I] अथा पजाये इछामि हकं [:]  
किंति [?] सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकि-

1. Devānaṃpiyasa vacanena tosaliyaṃ mahā-māta nagalaviyohālakā

2. vataviya [:] Aṃ kichi dakhāmi hakaṃ taṃ ichāmi [:] Kiṃti [?] Kaṃmana paṭivedayehaṃ

3. duvālate ca ālabhehaṃ esa ca me mokhya-mata duvāla etasi aṭhasi aṃ tuphesu

4. anusathi [I] Tuphe hi bahūsu pānasahasesu āyatā [I] Panayaṃ gachema sumunisānaṃ [I] Save

5. munise pajā mamā [I] Athā pajāye ichāmi hakaṃ [:] Kiṃti [?] Savena hitasukhena hidalokika-

## KALINGA EDICT I

१. देवानां प्रियस्य वचनेन तोसलीये महामात्रा नगरव्यवहार-  
काश्च वक्तव्याः ।

२. यत्किञ्चित्प्रश्याम्यहं तदिच्छामि । किमिति ? कर्मणा प्रति-  
वेदयेहं, द्वारतश्चारमेहम् ; एतच्च मे मुख्यतमं द्वारमस्मिन्नर्थे यद्युष्मास्वनुशिष्टिः ;  
यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेष्वायत्ताः । प्रणयं गच्छेम सुमनुष्याणाम् । सर्वे  
मनुष्याः प्रजा मम । यथा प्रजायै इच्छाम्यहं, किमिति सर्वेण हितसुखेन

1. By command-words of Devānāmpriya, the Chief Executive Officers and City Judicial Officers of Tosālī are to be addressed thus :

2. Whenever I see anything significant, I desire to translate it into action and begin it by proper means ; and the principal means of achieving this end is to instruct you in my wishes, as you are placed in charge (and over the welfare) of several thousands of lives. Let us win the affection of good men. All people are my children. Just as I desire on behalf of my own children that they should be fully provided with all kinds of comfort and enjoyment in this as well as in

६. पाललोकिकाये यूजेवू ति [I] तथा [सवेसु] मुनिसेसु पि  
इछामि हकं [I] नो च पापुनाथ आवा ग [-]

७. मके इयं अठे [I] केछ व एकपुलिसे पापुनाति एतं [,]  
से पि देसं नो सवं [I] देखत हि तुफे एतं [:]

८. सुविहिता पि निति [I] इयं एक पुलिसे पि अथि ये  
बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति [I] तत होति

९. अकस्मा तेन बंधनंतिक [,] अंने च बहुजने दविये  
दुखीयति [I] तत इछितविये

१०. तुफेहि [;] किंति [?] मझं पटिपादयेमा ति [I] इमेहि  
चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति [,] इसाय आसुलोपेन.

११. निथूलियेन तूलानाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किल-  
मथेन [I] से इछितविये [;] किंति [?] एते

6. pālalokikāye yūjevū ti [I] Tathā [savesu] muni-  
sesu pi ichāmi hakam [I] No ca pāpunātha āvā ga [-]

7. make iyaṃ aṭhe [I] Kecha va ekapulise pāpu-  
nāti etaṃ [,] se pi desaṃ no savaṃ [I] Dekhata hi  
tuphe etaṃ [,]

8. Suvihitā pi niti [I] Iyaṃ eka pulise pi athi ye  
baṃdhanam vā palikilesam vā pāpunāti [I] Tata hoti

9. akasmā tena baṃdhanam̐tika [,] am̐ne ca  
bahujane daviye dukhiyati [I] Tata ichitaviye

10. tuphe hi [;] Kim̐ti [?] Majham̐ paṭipāda-  
yemā ti [I] Imehi cu jātehi no sam̐paṭipajati [,] Isāya  
āsulopena

11. nithūliyena tūlānāya anāvūtiya ālasiyena kila-  
mathena [I] Se ichitaviye [;] Kim̐ti [?] Ete

ऐहलौकिकेन पारलौकिकेन च युज्येरन्निति, तथा सर्वेषु मनुष्येष्वपीच्छाम्यहम् । न च प्राप्नुथ यावद्गमकोऽयमर्थः । कश्चिदप्येकः पुरुषो प्राप्नोत्येतत् सोऽपि देशं न सर्वम् ।

३. पश्यत हि यूयमिदम् । सुविहितापि नीतिरियम्, एकपुरुषोऽप्यस्ति यो बन्धनं वा परिक्षेपं वा प्राप्नोति, तद्भवत्येकस्मात्तेन बन्धनान्तिकम्; अन्यच्च बहुजनो दवीयो दुःखीयति ।

४. तत एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः । किमिति ? मध्यं प्रतिपादयेमेति । एभिस्तु जातैर्न संप्रतिपद्यते ईर्ष्याया अश्रमेण नैष्ठुर्येण त्वरया अनावृत्या आलस्येन क्लमेन । तदेष्टव्यं किमिति एतानि जातानि न भवेयुर्ममेति ।

the other world, similarly, I desire the same (happiness and enjoyment in this world and in the next) on behalf of all people. Perhaps, you may not grasp the full significance of my desire. Or, perhaps, there may be one who may grasp the significance; even he may understand only a part and not the whole.

3. You note this: Although the laws are well laid down, there may be an individual who undergoes imprisonment or suffering and, by some accident, he may see the end of his imprisonment; and many persons (similarly placed) are still undergoing the suffering.

4. Therefore, what you should strive for, is the middle path. This middle path is not possible to attain for those who are slaves of envy, non-exertion, harshness, hurry, want of practice, sloth and undue weariness. Hence, each one of you should strive to see that these do not get hold of you.

१२. जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति [१] एतस च सवस मूले  
अनासुलोपे अतूलना च नितियं ए किलन्ते सिया

१३. न ते उगछे [१] संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये  
वा [१] हेवंमेव ए दखिये तुफाक तेन वतविये [ः]

१४. अन्नं ने देखत [१] हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनु-  
सथि [१] से महा(फ)ले ए तस संपटिपाद

१५. महा अपाये असंपटिपति [१] विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं  
नथि स्वगस अलधि नो लाजालधि [१]

१६. दुआहले हि इमस कंमस मे कुते मने अतिलेके [१]  
संपटिपजमीने चु एतं स्वगं

१७. आलाघयिसथ त(ह लाजो) आननियं एहथ [१] इयं  
च लिपी तिसनखतेन सोतविय

12. jātā no huvevu mamā ti [1] Etasa ca savasa  
mūle anāsulope atūlanā ca nitiyaṃ e kilaṃte siyā

13. na te ugache [1] Saṃcalitaviye tu vaṭitaviye  
etaviye vā [1] Hevaṃmeva e dakhiye tuphāka tena  
vataviye [ः]

14. aṃnaṃ ne dekhata [1] Hevaṃ ca hevaṃ ca  
devānaṃpiyasa anusathi [1] Se mahā(pha)le e tasa  
saṃpaṭipāda

15. mahā apāye asaṃpaṭipati [1] Vipāṭipādaya-  
mīne hi etaṃ nathi svagsa aladhi no lājāladhi [1]

16. Duāhale hi imasa kaṃmasa me kute mane  
atileke [1] Saṃpaṭipajamīne cu etaṃ svagaṃ

17. ālādhayisatha ta(ha lāñño) ānaniyaṃ ehatha [1]  
Iyaṃ ca lipī tisanakhatena sotaviya

५. एतस्य च सर्वस्य मूले अनश्रमश्च अत्वरा च । नीत्यां ये क्लमन्ते स्युर्न ते उद्गच्छन्ति । संचरितव्यं तु व्रजितव्यमेतव्यं वा ।

६. एवमेव यो दृष्ट्वा युष्माकं तेन वक्तव्यम् । “आज्ञां न पश्यथ एवं चैवं च देवानां प्रियस्यानुशिष्टिः । तन्महाफलमेतस्य संप्रतिपादनं महापाया चासंप्रतिपत्तिः । विप्रतिपद्यमानैर्हि एतन्नास्ति स्वर्गस्याराद्धिर्न राजाराद्धिः” । द्विफलो हि अस्य कर्मणो मया कृतो मनोतिरेकः । संप्रतिपद्यमानास्त्वेतत् स्वर्गमाराधयिष्यथ तथा राज्ञ आनृण्यमीहध्वे ।

5. At the root of all this lie the two qualities *viz.* steady action and acting without haste. In administration, those who get easily tired do not rise up to the level required. You ought to be up and moving and advancing.

6. He who sees accordingly must preach thus : “Do you not perceive the command (of the King)? Such and such are the instructions of the beloved of the gods. It is highly fruitful to have faith in them and act accordingly and it is highly ruinous to have no faith and to act otherwise. Those who do not discharge their duties properly do not serve either Svarga (Heaven) or their King.” Two kinds of fruits have been assigned by me to those who zealously discharge their duties. Understanding and acting accordingly, you attain Heaven and discharge your debt to the King.

१८. अंतला पि च तिसे खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविय (।)  
हेवं च कलंतं तुफे

१९. चघथ संपटिपादयितवे [।] एताये अथाये इयं लिपि  
लिखिता हिद एन

२०. नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं युजेवू ति नगलजनस  
अकस्मा पलिबोधे व

२१. अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति [।] एताये च  
अठाये हकं धंमते पंचसु पंचसु वसे [-]

२२. सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे  
होसति [।] एतं अठं जानितु तथा

२३. कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति [।] उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले  
एताये व अठाये निखामयिस . . . [।]

18. aṃtalā pi ca tise khanasi khanasi ekena pi  
sotaviya [।] Hevaṃ ca kalaṃtaṃ tuphe

19. caghatha saṃpaṭipādayitave [।] Etāye athāye  
iyam lipi likhitā hida ena

20. nagalaviyohālakā sasvataṃ samayaṃ yujevū  
ti nagalajanasa akasmā palibodhe va

21. akasmā palikilese va no siyā ti [।] Etāye ca  
aṭhāye hakaṃ dhammate paṃcasu paṃcasu vase-

22. su nikhāmayisāmi e akhakhase acamṇe  
sakhinālaṃbhe hosati [।] Etaṃ aṭham jānitu tathā

23. kalaṃti atha mama anusathī ti [।] Ujenite  
pi cu kumāle etāye va aṭhāye nikhāmayisa . . . . [।]

७. इयं च लिपिस्तिष्यनक्षत्रेण श्रोतव्या अन्तरापि च तिष्ये क्षणेक्षणे एकेनापि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तो यूयं चेष्टध्वं संप्रतिपादयितुम् ।

८. एतस्मै अर्थायेयं लिपिलिखिता । इह तेन नगरव्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं समयं युज्येरन्निति नगरजनस्याकस्मात् परिबाधो वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशो वा न स्यात् ।

९. एतस्मै चाऽर्थायाहं धर्मतः पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु (वर्गं) निष्क्रामयिष्यामि यः अकर्कशः अचण्डः श्लक्ष्णारम्भो भविष्यति ।

१०. एतमर्थं जानन्तस्तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा ममानुशिष्टिरिति ।

११. उज्जयिनीतोऽपि च कुमार एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्राम-

7. This edict is to be heard on *Tiṣṣyanakṣatra* days and also in the interval between *Tiṣṣyas*, moment by moment, even by a single individual. Acting thus, you try to discharge your duty.

8. This edict has been inscribed here, for this purpose, namely : that the City Judicial Officers shall always execute the laws properly, so that the citizens may not be subject to oppression or made to suffer otherwise.

9. For this purpose and for the upholding of *Dharma*, I shall send, once in every five years, a class of officers who are not harsh (*akarkasā*), not cruel (*acanda*), and are of gentle disposition (*ślakṣṇārāmbha*).

10. Understanding this (the officers) shall act in conformity with my instructions.

11. For the same purpose, my son at Ujjain shall



२४. हेदिसं मेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि [1] हेवमेव तखसिलाते पि [1] अदा अ . . . . .

२५. ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कमं एतं पि जानिसंति

२६. तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति [1]

### द्वितीयः कलिङ्गलेखः

१. देवानंपिये हेवं आह (1) समापायं महमता लजवचनिक वतविया [1] अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं [,] किंति [?] कं कमन

२. पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं [1] एस च मे मोखिय-मतं दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि [1] सवमुनि [-]

३. सा मे पजा [1] अथ पजाये इछामि [,] किंति [?]

24. Hedisaṃ meva vagam no ca atikāmayisati timni vasāni [1] Hevameva takhasilāte pi [1] Adā a . .

25. te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānam tadā ahāpayitu atane kamaṃ etaṃ pi jānisaṃti

26. taṃ pi tathā kalaṃti atha lājine anusathī ti [1]

1. Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ āha [1] Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā lajavacanika vataviyā [1] Aṃ kichi dakhāmi hakaṃ taṃ ichāmi hakaṃ [,] kiṃti [?] Kaṃ kamana

2. paṭipātayehaṃ duvālate ca ālabhehaṃ [1] Esa ca me mokhiyamataṃ duvāla etasa athasa aṃ tuphesu anusathi [1] Savamuni [-]

3. sā me pajā [1] Atha pajāye ichāmi [,] kiṃti [?]

यिष्यति ईदृशमेव वर्गं न चातिकमिष्यति त्रीणि वर्षाणि । एवमेव तक्षशिलातोऽपि । यदा च ते महामात्रा निष्कमिष्यन्त्यनुसंयानं तदा अहापयन्त आत्मनः कर्म एतदपि ज्ञास्यन्ति तदपि तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञोऽनुशिष्टिरिति ।

## KALINGA EDICT II

१. देवानां प्रियः एवमाह । समापायां महामात्रा राजवचनेन वक्तव्याः । यत्किञ्चित्पश्याम्यहं तदिच्छाम्यहम् । किमिति (!) कर्मणा प्रतिपादयेहं द्वारतश्चारमेहम् । एतच्च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारमेतस्यार्थस्य यद्युष्मा-स्वनुशिष्टिः ।

२. सर्वे मनुष्या मम प्रजाः । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि,

send similar officers, before the lapse of three years. In the same manner, from Takṣaśilā also. And when state officers go on their tours, they will, without neglecting their own work, attend to this work also and act according to the King's instructions.

1. The beloved of the gods says thus :

The Mahāmātras (officers) at Samapā are to be addressed by the King's command :

Whenever I see anything significant, I desire to translate it into action and begin it by proper means ; and in my view, the principal means of achieving this end is to instruct you in my thoughts.

2. All people are my children. Just as I desire

मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू <sup>1</sup>[अथ पजाये इछामि [,] किंति [?]  
मे सवेन हितसु [-]

४. खेन युजेयू] ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेन [i] हेवंमेव मे  
इछ सवमुनिसेसु । सिया अंतानं अविजिता [-]

५. नं किं छंदे सु लाजा अफेसू ति [i] एतका वा मे  
इछ अंतेसु [,] पापुनेयु [,] लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन हेयु

६. ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू मम ते नो  
(दु)खं [i] हेवं च पापुनेयु [,] खमिसति ने लाजा

७. ए चकिये खमितवे [;] ममं निमितं च धंम चलेयू ति  
हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयु [i] एताये

me saveṇā hitasukhena yujeyū <sup>1</sup>[atha pajāye ichāmi [,]  
kiṃti [?] me savena hitasu-

4. khena yujeyū] ti hialogikapālalokikena [i]  
Hevaṃmeva me icha savamunisesu [i] Siyā aṃtānaṃ  
avijitā [-]

5. naṃ kiṃ chaṇde su lājā apheṣū ti [i] Etakā  
vā me icha aṃtesu [,] pāpuneyu [,] lājā hevaṃ ichati  
anuvigina heyu

6. mamiyāye asvaseyu ca me sukhaṃmeva ca  
laheyū mama te no (du)khaṃ [i] Hevaṃ ca pāpu-  
neyu [,] khamisati ne lājā

7. e cakiye khamitave [;] mamaṃ nimitaṃ ca  
dhamma caleyū ti hialogaṃ ca palalogaṃ ca ālādha-  
yeyu [i] Etāye

<sup>1</sup> Passage is repeated by mistake of the scribe.

किमिति (?) मे सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि किमिति मे सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन्] इति ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिकेन, एवमेव मे इच्छा सर्वमनुष्येषु ।

३. स्यादन्तानामविजितानां किञ्चन्दोऽसौ राजास्मास्विति । एतावती मे इच्छा अन्तेषु । (एवं) प्राप्नुयुः । राजा एवमिच्छति । अनुद्विग्ना भवेयुर्मयि आश्वस्युश्च, मे सुखमेव च लभेरन् मम ते न दुःखम् । एवं च प्राप्नुयुः । क्षमिष्यते नो राजा यच्छक्यं क्षमितुम् । मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुरिति, इहलोकं च परलोकं चाराधयेयुः ।

on behalf of my own children, that they should be fully provided with all kinds of comfort and enjoyment in this world as well as in the other world, similarly, I desire the same (happiness and enjoyment in this world and in the next) on behalf of all people.

3. Those who live on the borders of my dominions, and have not been conquered by me, may wonder what exactly is my disposition towards them. My disposition towards them is this : They should be told that the King desires thus :

“Let them not be afraid of me. Let them be made to feel confident that they need expect only happiness from me and not misery.” They should again be told thus : “The King will forgive their faults that can be forgiven. May they be induced to practice Dharma for my sake and thereby attain happiness in this world and in the next.”

८. च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि [1] अनने एतकेन हकं [,] तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदि [-]

९. तु आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल [1] स हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वासनिया च ते [,] एन ते पापुने [-]

१०. यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति [,] अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति [,] अथा पजा हे [-]

११. वं मये लाजिने [1] तुफेनि हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ मम धिति पटिना चा अचल सकला

१२. देसायुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि [1] अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेसं हिद [-]

१३. लोगिकपाललोकिकाये [1] हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आला-  
धयिसथ मम च आननेयं एसथ [1] ए [-]

8. ca aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi [1] Anane etakena hakaṁ [,] tupheni anusāsitu chaṁdaṁ ca vedi [-]

9. tu ā mama dhiti paṭimnā ca acala [1] Sa hevaṁ kaṭu kaṁme calitaviye asvāsaniyā ca te [,] ena te pāpune [-]

10. yu athā pita hevaṁ ne lājā ti [,] atha atānaṁ anukāṁpati hevaṁ apheni anukāṁpati [,] athā pajā he-

11. vaṁ maye lājine [1] Tupheni hakaṁ anusā-situ chaṁdaṁ ca veditu ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cā acala sakalā

12. desāyutike hośāmī etasi athasi [1] Alāṁ hi tuphe asvāsanāye hitasukhāye ca tesāṁ hida-

13. logikapālalokikāye [1] Hevaṁ ca kalamtaṁ svagaṁ ca ālādhayisatha mama ca ānaneyam esatha [1] E [-]

४. एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्माननुशास्मि । आनृण्यमेतेन अहम् । युष्माननुशास्तुं छन्दं च वेदयितुं या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा चाचला । तदेवं कर्तुं कर्म चरितव्यमाश्वासनीयाश्च ते, येन ते प्राप्नुयुर्यथा पितैवं नो राजेति, यथात्मानमनुकम्पत एवमस्मास्वनुकम्पते । यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः ।

५. युष्मान् अहमनुशास्तुं छन्दं च वेदयितुं या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा चाचला । सकलदेशायुक्तो भविष्याम्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । अलं हि यूयमाश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषामैहलौकिकपारलौकिकाय । एवं च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गं चाराधयिष्यथ मम चानृण्यमेष्यथ ।

4. For this purpose I am instructing you. By this, I discharge the debt (which I owe to them). My resolution and vow to instruct and communicate to you my desire is unshakable. Your action should be shaped accordingly, and the borderers should be comforted and consoled and inspired with confidence and this idea *viz.* "The King is like our father. He cares for our welfare, as much as he cares for himself. We are, to him, like his own children."

5. My resolution and vow to instruct and communicate to you my desire is unshakable. I shall provide instructions in this matter through officers duly appointed for the purpose, throughout the country. You are competent to inspire confidence in them and ensure them the welfare and happiness of the borderers in this world and in the next. By acting thus, you will attain Heaven and discharge your debt of duty to me.

१४. ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखिता हिद एन महामाता  
सस्वतं सयमं युजेयू अस्वासनाये च

१५. धंमचलनाये च अंतानं [1] इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं  
सोतविया तिसेन अंतला पि च सोतविया [1]

१६. खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया [1] हेवं च कलंतं चघथ  
संपटिपातयितवे [1]

14. tāye ca athāye iyaṃ lipī likhitā hida ena  
mahāmatā sasvataṃ sayamaṃ yujeyū asvāsanāye ca

15. dhammacalanāye ca aṃtānaṃ [1] Iyaṃ ca  
lipī anucāturmmāsaṃ sotaviyā tisenā aṃtalā pi ca  
sotaviyā [1]

16. Khane saṃtaraṃ ekena pi sotaviyā [1] Hevaṃ  
ca kalamtaṃ caghatha saṃpaṭipātayitave [1]

६. एतस्मै चार्थायेयं लिपिलिखिता इह एतन्महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयं युज्येरन्नाश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय चान्तानाम् । इयं च लिपिरनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या, तिष्येणान्तरापि च श्रोतव्या । क्षणे शान्तमेकेनापि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तश्चेष्टध्वे संप्रतिपादयितुम् ।

6. For this purpose this rescript has been engraved so that my officers (Mahamātrās) may continue to inspire the borderers with confidence and to induce them to practice Dharma. This edict must be listened to, once in four months, or on Tīṣya days, or between Tīṣyas; and when opportunity arises, it may be heard calmly even by a single person. Acting thus, you engage yourself in executing my command.



## प्रथमो ब्रह्मगिरिशिलालेखः

१. सुवण्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामातानं च वचनेन इसिलसि  
महामाता आरोगियं वतविया हेवं च वतविया [१] देवाणंपिये  
आणपयति [१]

२. अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं उपासके नो तु  
खो बाढं पकंते हुसं एकं सवछरं [१] सातिरेके तु खो संवछरं

३. यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकंते [१] इमिना  
चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि

४. मिसा देवेहि [१] पकमस हि इयं फले [१] नो हीयं सक्के  
महात्पेनेव पापोतवे [१] कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि

1. Suvamṇagirite ayaputasa mahāmātānaṃ ca  
vacanena isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ  
ca vataviyā [1] Devāṇampiye āṇapayati [1]

2. Adhikāni adhātīyāni vasāni ya hakaṃ upāsake  
no tu kho bāḍhaṃ pakamte husaṃ ekaṃ savacharaṃ [1]  
Sātireke tu kho samvacharaṃ

3. yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayīte bāḍhaṃ ca me  
pakamte [1] Iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā  
Jambudīpasi

4. misā devehi [1] Pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale [1]  
No hīyaṃ sakye mahātpeneva pāpotave [1] Kāmaṃ tu  
kho khudakena pi

## MINOR ROCK EDICTS

### BRAHMAGIRI EDICT I

१. सुवर्णगिरेः आर्यपुत्रस्य महामात्राणां च वचनेन ऋषिले महामात्रा आरोग्यं वक्तव्या एवं च वक्तव्याः । देवानां प्रिय आज्ञापयति । अधिकान्यर्धतृतीयानि वर्षाणि यदहमुपासकोऽभवं न तु खलु बाढं प्रकान्तोऽभवमेकं संवत्सरम् । सातिरेकस्तु खलु संवत्सरो यन्मया संघ उपेतो बाढं च मया प्रकान्तम् । अमुना तु कालेन अमिश्रा समाना मनुष्या जम्बूद्वीपे मिश्रा देवैः । प्रक्रमस्य हि इदं फलम् । न हीदं शक्यं महात्मनैव प्राप्तुम् । कामं तु खलु क्षुद्रकेणापि प्रक्रममाणेन विपुलः स्वर्गः शक्य आराधयितुम् ।

1. By the command-words of the Prince at Suvarṇagiri and of his Mahāmātras, the Mahāmātras (officers) at Isila (*Rṣila*) are to be addressed thus, after the performance of health-greetings: The beloved of the gods commands thus :

I have been a lay disciple (*upāsaka*) for over two years and a half (by now); but I did not progress well for a year. But, since I joined the Order (*Saṃgha*) over a year ago, I have been progressing well in the path of Dharma. Men in Jambūdvīpa, who were till now unmingled, have now been mingled with the gods. This is certainly the fruit of my exertion. Nor is it correct to hold that this can be achieved only by the great ones, for, even the smallest person can achieve the ideal of heavenly bliss by force of exertion.

५. पकममिणेण विपुले स्वगे सक्के आराधेतवे [1] एतायथाय  
इयं सावणे सावापिते

६. यथा खुदका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मे  
जानेयु चिरिठित्ति के च इयं

७. पकमे होतु [1] इयं च अठे वडिसिति विपुलं पि च वडि-  
सिति अवरधिया दियदियं

८. वडिसिति [1] इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्युथेन २००  
५० ६ [1]

### द्वितीयो ब्रह्मगिरिशिलालेखः

८. से हेवं देवाणंपिये

९. आह [1] मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये [1] हेवमेव गरुत्वं  
प्राणेषु द्रष्टितव्यं [1] सचं

१०. वतवियं [1] से इमे धम्मगुणा पवतितविया [1] हेवमेव  
अंतेवासिना

5. pakamamiṇeṇa vipule svage sakye ārādhe-  
tave [1] Etāyaṭhāya iyaṃ sāvaṇe sāvāpīte

6. yathā khudakā ca mahātpā ca imaṃ pakameyu  
ti aṃtā ca me jāneyu cirāṭhitike ca iyaṃ

7. pakame hotu [1] Iyaṃ ca aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṃ  
pi ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṃ

8. vaḍhisiti [1] Iyaṃ ca sāvaṇe sāvāpīte vyuthena  
200-50-6 [1]

8. Se hevaṃ devāṇampiye

9. āha [1] Mātāpitisu susūsitaviye [1] Hevameva  
garutvaṃ prāṇesu draḥyitavyaṃ [1] Sacam

10. vataviyaṃ [1] Se ime dhammaguṇā pavati-  
taviyā [1] Hevameva aṃtevāsina

२. एतस्मै अर्थायेदं श्रावणं श्रावितम् । यथा क्षुद्राश्च महात्मान-  
श्चेमं प्रक्रमेरन्नन्ताश्च मे जानीयुश्चिरस्थितिकश्चायं प्रक्रमो भवतु । अयं  
चार्थो वर्धिष्यते विपुलमपि च वर्धिष्यते अवरधिया द्व्यर्धं वर्धिष्यते ।  
इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युत्थेन २०० ५० ६ ।

## BRAHMAGIRI EDICT II

३. तदेवं देवानां प्रिय आह । मातापित्रोः शश्रूषितव्यम् । गुरुत्वं  
प्राणेषु द्रढयितव्यम् । सत्यं वक्तव्यम् । त इमे धर्मगुणाः प्रवर्तयितव्याः ।

2. It is for this purpose that this proclamation has been proclaimed thus :

“Let the small and great exert themselves to achieve this purpose. May my border people understand this. May this spirit of exertion endure everlastingly.”

This purpose will prosper and prosper increasingly ; and in the least calculation it will grow at least two and a half times.

This precept was proclaimed by me 256 (times), while on tour.

3. The beloved of the gods says thus :

The father and mother must be served ; and the supreme value and sacredness of life should be firmly strengthened. Truth should be spoken. These virtuous qualities should be practised and spread. Similarly,

११. आचरिये अपचायितविये ज्ञातिकेसु च कु य[था]रहं  
पवतितविये [1]

१२. एसा पोरणा पकिती दिघावुसे च एस हेवं एस कटविये [1]

१३. चपडेन लिखितं लिपिकरेण [1]

### रूपनाथशिलालेखः

१. देवानंपिये हेवं आहा [1] सातिरेकानि अढतियानि व  
य सुमि प्रकास सके [1] नो चु बाढि पकते [1] सातिलेके चु सवछरे य  
सुमि हकं सघ उपेते

२. बाढि च पकते [1] या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि

11. ācariye apacāyitaviye jñatikesu ca ku ya(thā)-  
raham pavatitaviye [1]

12. Esā porāṇā pakitī dighāvuse ca esa hevaṁ  
esa kaṭaviye [1]

13. Capaḍena likhitaṁ lipikareṇa [1]

1. Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āhā [1] Sātirekāni aḍha-  
tiyāni va ya sumi prakāsa sake [1] No cu bāḍhi  
pakate [1] Sātileke cu savachare ya sumi hakaṁ sagha  
upete

2. bāḍhi ca pakate [1] Yā imāya kālāya Jambu-

एवमेवान्तेवासिना आचार्योऽपचेतव्यो ज्ञातिकेषु च कु(ले) यथार्थं  
प्रवर्तितव्यम् । एषा पुराणी प्रकृतिर्दीर्घायुषे च । एतदेवमेतत् कर्तव्यम् ।  
चपडेन लिखितं लिपिकरेण ।

### RŪPNĀTH EDICT

१. देवानां प्रियः एवमाह । सातिरेकानि अर्धतृतीयानि  
च (वर्षाणि) यदस्मि प्रकाशं शाक्यः । न तु बाढं प्रक्रान्तः । सातिरेकस्तु  
संवत्सरः यदस्म्यहं संघ उपेतः बाढं च प्रक्रान्तः । यदस्मै कालाय

the teacher must be revered by the disciple ; and  
in families, fitting courtesy should be shown to rela-  
tions. This is the nature of ancient Dharma and  
is conducive to long life.

This is so and must be acted accordingly.

Engraved in Prākṛt by Capaḍa the scribe.

1. Devānāmpriya speaks thus :

I had been an open disciple of the Buddha (*Sākya*)  
for over two and a half years ; but I did not progress  
well. But, since I joined the order (the *Samgha*)  
over a year ago, I have been progressing well (in the path  
of Dharma). During this period, in Jambūdvīpa, gods

अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसा कटा [१] पकमसि हि एस फले [१]  
नो च एसा महतता पापोतवे खुदकेन

३. पि पकममिनेना सकिये विपुले पि स्वगे आराधे(त)वे  
[१] एतिय अठाय च सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति  
अता पि च जानंतु इय पकरा व

४. किति चिरठितिके सिया [१] इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति  
विपुल च वढिसिति अपलधियेना दियदिय वढिसिति [१] इय च अठे  
पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत [१] हिध च अथि

५. सिलाठभे सिलाठभसि लिखापेतवय ति [१] एतिना च

dipasi amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā [१] Pakamasi  
hi esa phale [१] No ca esā mahatatā pāpotave khuda-  
kena

3. pi pakamaminenā sakiye vipule pi svage ārādhe-  
[ta]ve [१] Etiya aṭhāya ca sāvane kaṭe khudakā ca  
uḍālā ca pakamatu ti atā pi ca jānamtu iya pakarā va

4. kiti cirāṭhitike siyā [१] Iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi  
vaḍhisiti vipula ca vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā diyaḍhiya  
vaḍhisiti. [१] Iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vālata [१]  
Hidha ca athi

5. silāṭhabhe silāṭhambhasi likhāpetavaya ti [१]

जम्बूद्वीपे अमिश्रा देवा आसन् ते इदानीं मिश्रा कृताः । प्रक्रमस्य हि एतत् फलम् । न चैतन्महात्मना (एव) प्राप्तुम्, क्षुद्रकेणापि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यं विपुलोऽपि स्वर्ग आराधयितुम् ।

२. एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतम् । क्षुद्रकाश्च उदाराश्च प्रक्रमन्त्विति । अन्ता अपि च जानन्तु । अयं प्रक्रमश्च किमिति ? चिरस्थितिकः स्यात् । अयं ह्यर्थः बाढं वर्धिष्यते विपुलमपि च वर्धिष्यते । अवरधिया द्वयर्धं वर्धिष्यते ।

३. अयं चार्थः पर्वतेषु लेखितो वारतः, इह चास्ति शिलास्तम्भः शिलास्तम्भे लेखयितव्य इति ।

who till then remained unmingled have been made to mingle with men (by me). This is the fruit of my exertion. Nor is this achievable only by the great ones, for, even the humblest person can achieve the ideal of heavenly bliss by force of exertion.

2. It is for this purpose that this proclamation has been proclaimed :

“Let the humble and the great exert themselves to achieve this ideal. May the borderers also understand this. May this spirit of exertion endure everlastingly.” This matter will prosper and prosper increasingly and in the least calculation will at least grow two and a half times.

3. This matter has been engraved on rocks repeatedly thus :

“Here is a pillar-rock. This should be engraved on this pillar rock.”



वयजनेना यावतक तुफाकं अहाले सवत विवासेतविये ति [1] व्युठेना  
सावने कटे [1] २०० ५० ६ (दुवे सपंना लाति)स-

६. त विवासा ति [1]

### भावराशिशिलालेखः

१. पियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादनं आहा [1]  
अपाबाधतं च फासु विहालतं चा [1]

२. विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति  
गालवे चं पसादे च [1] ए केचि भंते

३. भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा ए चु  
खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे

Etinā ca vawayanēnā yāvataka tūphākam ahāle savata  
vivāsetaviye ti [1] Vyūṭhenā sāvane kaṭe [1] 200-50-6  
(duve sapāṇnā lāti)-sa-

6. ta vivāsā ti [1]

1. Piyadasi lājā māgadhe saṅgham abhivādanam  
āhā [1] Apābādhatam ca phāsu vihālatam cā [1]

2. Vidite ve bhaṁte āvatake hamā budhasi  
dhammasi saṅghasī ti gālave cam pasāde ca [1] E ke-  
ci bhaṁte

3. bhagavatā Budhena bhāsīte save se subhāsīte  
vā e cu kho bhaṁte hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhamme

४. एतेन च व्यङ्ग्येन यावद्युष्माकमाहारः सर्वत्र विवसितव्यमिति । व्युत्थेन श्रावणं कृतम् । २०० ५० ६ (द्विषट्पञ्चाशद्वात्रिंशत्) शतं विवसितमिति ।

### BHABRA EDICT

१. प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः सङ्घमभिवादनमाह अपाबाधत्वं च प्राशु विहारत्वं च ।

२. विदितं वो भदन्ता यावदस्माकं बुद्धे धर्मे सङ्घ इति गौरवं च प्रसादश्च । यत्किञ्चिद्भदन्ता भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत्सुभाषितं वा ।

4. As far as your jurisdiction extends, spread this message with a literal copy through tours. This proclamation was issued by me while on tour. I have been on tour 256 (days and) nights.

1. King Priyadars'in of Magadha, conveys his reverence to the *Saṃgha* (Order of Monks and Nuns), and wishes for absence of obstacles and good health to the *Saṃgha*.

2. It is known to you, Holy Sirs, the extent to which our respect and devotion for the Buddha, the Dharma and the *Saṃgha* extend. Whatever has been spoken by Bhagavān Buddha, O Reverend Sirs, all those have been well spoken. And of those, O Holy Sirs, that

४. चिलठितीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वतवे [1]  
इमानि भंते धंमपलियायानि विनयसमुकसे .

५. अलियवसानि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते  
उपतिसपसिने ए चा लाघुलो [-]

६. वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासितं एतान  
भंते धंमपलियायानि इछामि

७. किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं  
सुनेयु चा उपधालेयेयु चा

८. हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा [1] एतेन भंते  
इमं लिखापयामि अभिहेतं म जानंत ति [1]

4. cilāṭhitike hosatī ti alahāmi hakam tam  
vatave [1] Imāni bhamte dhammapaliyāyāni vinaya-  
samukase

5. aliyavasāni anāgatabhayāni munigāthā mo-  
neyasūte upatisapasine e cā lāghulo [-]

6. vāde musāvādam adhigicya bhagavatā Budhe-  
na bhāsite etāna bhamte dhammapaliyāyāni ichāmi

7. Kīnti bahuke bhikhupāye cā bhikhuniye cā  
abhikhinam suneyu cā upadhāleyeyu cā

8. hevaṁmevā upāsakā cā upāsikā cā [1] Etena  
bhamte imam likhāpayāmi abhihetam ma jānamta ti [1]

यत्तु खलु भदन्ता मया दृश्यत एवं सद्धर्मश्चिरस्थितिको भविष्यतीत्यर्हाम्यहं  
तद्वर्तयितुम् ।

३. इमे भदन्ता धर्मपर्यायाः—विनयसमुत्कर्षः आर्यवंशः अना-  
गतभयानि मुनिगाथा मौनेयसूत्रमुपतिप्यप्रश्न एवं च राहुलवादो मृषावाद-  
मधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः ।

४. एतान्भदन्ता धर्मपर्यायानिच्छामि । किमिति ? बहवो भिक्षुका  
भिक्षुव्यश्च अभीक्ष्णं शृणुयुरवधारयेयुश्च । एवमेवोपासकाश्चोपासिकाश्च ।  
एतेन भदन्ता इदं लेखयाम्यभिप्रेतं मे जानन्तिवति ।

have been seen by me as specially significant Dharma,  
and worthy of endurance for ages, I should propagate.

3. O Holy Sirs, these are the texts on Dharma :

The Exaltation of *Vinaya* (Discipline)

Āryavaṃsa (Aryan Race)

Fears of that which have not happened

*Munigāthā* (The Song of the Sage)

*Mauneya Sūtra* (On Saintly Life) and also

*Rāhulavāda*—Spoken by the Venerable Buddha  
with reference to false speeches.

4. It is my desire, O Holy Sirs, that the Monks  
(*Bhikṣukaḥ*) and Nuns (*Bhikṣukyaḥ*) should hear these  
holy texts in large numbers, retain them in their minds,  
as also the lay disciples (*upāsakaḥ*) and women  
(*upāsakyaḥ*).

With this desire I cause this to be engraved, so  
that they may all understand my wishes.

## मस्किशिलालेखः

१. देवानंपियस असोकस (सावने [1] अधिकानि) अढाति-
२. (या)नि वषानि यं अं सुमि बुधशके [1] (संवछरे सा)तिरे(के)
३. (अं सु)मि संघं उपगते उठ(ानं च सु)मि उपगते [1]

पुरे जंबु-

४. (दिप)सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभुता [1]

इय अठे खुद-

५. केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे [1] न हेवं दखितविये

उडा-

६. लके व इम अधिगछेया ति [1] खुदके च उडालके च वत-
७. विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ(ठे चिरठि)तिके च वदि-
८. सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति [1]

1. Devānaṃpiyasa Asokasa (sāvane [1] Adhi-kāni) aḍhāti-

2. (yā)ni vaṣāni yaṃ aṃ sumi budhasake [1] (Saṃvachare sā)tire(ke)

3. (aṃ su)mi saṃghaṃ upagate uṭh(ānaṃ ca su)-mi upagate [1] Pure Jambu

4. (dipa)si ye amisā devā husu te dāni misibhutā [1] Iya aṭhe khuda

5. kena pi dhamayutena sake adhigatave [1] Na hevaṃ dakhitaviye uḍā

6. lake va ima adhigacheyā ti [1] Khudake ca uḍālake ca vata-

7. viyā hevaṃ ve kalamtaṃ bhadake se a(ṭhe ciraṭhi)tike ca vaḍhi-

8. siti cā diyaḍhiyaṃ hevaṃ ti [1]

## MASKI EDICT

देवानां प्रियस्य अशोकस्य (श्रावणम् । अधिकानि) अर्धतृती-  
 (या)नि वर्षाणि यदहमस्मि बुद्धशाक्यः । (संवत्सरः सा)तिरे(को) (यद्)  
 (अहम्) अस्मि संघमुपगतः, उत्था(नं चा)स्म्युपगतः । पुरा जम्बू(द्वीपे)  
 ये अमिश्रा देवा आसन् त इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः । अयमर्थः क्षुद्रकेणापि  
 धर्मयुतेन शक्यः अधिगन्तुम् । नैवं द्रष्टव्यं उदारक एवामुमधिगच्छेदिति ।  
 क्षुद्रकाश्च उदारकाश्च वक्तव्याः एवं वः कुर्वन्तो भद्रकः सोऽर्थश्चिरस्थि-  
 तिकश्च वर्धिष्यते च द्वयधर्मैवमिति ।

This is a proclamation of Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) Asoka. For over two and a half years, I had been a follower of the Buddha, the Sākya. It is over a year since I joined the *Saṅgha* (Order) and have been progressing well. The gods who were formerly unmingled (with men), have now become mingled (with men). This ideal can be achieved even by the humbly placed person by following the path of Dharma. It is not correct to hold that only the highly placed persons can achieve this (ideal).

Both the humbly placed and the highly placed are to be told thus :

If you act thus, this matter will become prosperous, everlasting and thus increase two and a half times.



**स्तम्भलेखाः**

**PILLAR EDICTS OF PRIYADARS'IN**

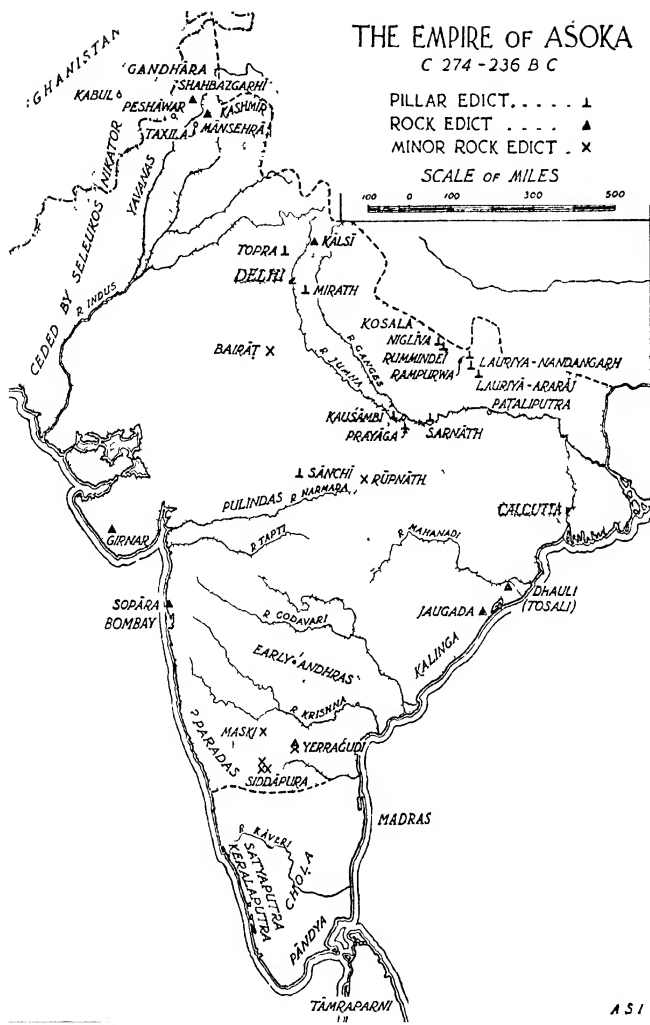
**(ASOKA)**



## प्रथमो लेखः

१. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा [1] सडुवीसति-
२. वस-अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता [1]
३. हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अनंत अगाया धंमकामताया
४. अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेना
५. अगेन उसाहेना [1] एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
६. धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा
७. पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
८. संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे [1] हेमेवा अंत-

1. Devānampiye piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā [1] Saḍuvīsati-
2. vasa-abhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhā-pitā [1]
3. Hidatapālate dusampañipādaye amnata agāyā dhammakāmatāyā
4. agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā agena bhayenā
5. agena ūsāhenā [1] Esa cu kho mama anu-sathiyā
6. dhammāpekhā dhammakāmatā cā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhīsati cevā
7. pulisā pi ca me ukasā cā gevayā cā majhimā cā anuvīdhīyaṃtī
8. sampañipādayaṃtī cā alaṃ capalaṃ samāda-payitave [1] Hemevā aṃta-



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## PILLAR EDICT I

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह । षड्विंशति-  
वर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपिलेखिता । इहत्यपारज्यं दु.संप्रतिपाद्यमन्य-  
त्राग्र्याया धर्मकामताया अग्र्यायाः परीक्षाया अग्र्यायाः शुश्रूषाया  
अग्र्याद्व्यादग्र्यादुत्साहात् ।

२. एषा तु खलु मम अनुशिष्ट्या धर्मापेक्षा धर्मकामता च  
श्वः श्वो वर्धिता वर्धिष्यते चैव । पुरुषा अपि च मे उत्कृष्टाश्च ग्राम्याश्च  
मध्यमाश्चानुविदधति संप्रतिपादयन्ति च अलं चपलं समादापयितुम् । एव-  
मेवान्तमहामात्रा अपि ।

1. Thus speaks King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods :

This edict on Dharma was caused to be engraved by me when I had been consecrated twenty-six years. It is very difficult to gain happiness in this world and in the next except by utmost devotion to Dharma, utmost examination, most devoted service, utmost fear (of sin) and utmost enthusiasm.

2. By my instruction (in Dharma), the desire for Dharma and love of Dharma have increased day by day, and will continue to increase. And my officers, high, low and of middle order, conform to Dharma and so execute (my commands) as to reclaim those who are unsteady. The Mahāmātras (officers) on the borders also (act) similarly.

९. महामाता पि [1] एसा पि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना  
धंमेन विधाने

१०. धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति [1]

### द्वितीयो लेखः

१०. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा

११. हेवं आहा [1] धंमे साधू [1] कियं चु धंमे ति [?]  
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने

१२. दया दाने सचे सोचये [1] चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने  
दुपद-

१३. चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आपान-

१४. दाखिनाये अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि [1]  
एताये मे

9. mahāmātā pi [1] Esā pi vidhi yā iyaṃ dham-  
mena pālanā dhmmena vidhāne

10. dhammena sukhiyanā dhammena gotī ti [1]

10. Devānāmpiye piyadasi lājā

11. hevaṃ āhā [1] Dhamme sādhu [1] Kiyam  
cu dhamme ti [?] Apāsinave bahu kayāne

12. dayā dāne sace socaye [1] Cakhudāne pi  
me bahuvīdhe diṃne dupada-

13. catupadesu pakhivālicalessu vividhe me  
anugahe kaṭe āpāna-

14. dākhināye amnāni pi ca me bahūni kayānāni  
kaṭāni [1] Etāye me

३. एषाऽपि विधिर्येयं धर्मेण पालना धर्मेण विधानं धर्मेण सुखं धर्मेण गुप्तिरिति ।

## PILLAR EDICT II

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । धर्मः साधुः । कियांस्तु धर्म इति ? अपास्रवो बहुकल्याणं दया दानं सत्यं शौचम् । चक्षुर्दानमपि मे बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपदचतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु विविधो मे अनुग्रहः कृत आप्राणदक्षिणम् । अन्यान्यपि च मे बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि ।

3. And this is the rule (to be applied in administration): protection according to Dharma ; action and disposal according to Dharma ; securing of happiness according to Dharma and to be guarded in speech according to Dharma.

1. Thus speaks King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods :

To follow or practise Dharma is meritorious. But what constitutes Dharma ? It is the avoiding of sin, performance of many meritorious actions, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity. I have bestowed the gift of vision in many ways. To men as well as cattle, to birds and water-creatures, I have done many meritorious acts, including the gift of life. I have also done many other virtuous deeds,

१५. अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता [१] हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-

१६. थितिका च होतू ती ति [१] ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कछती ति [१]

### तृतीयो लेखः

१७. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा [१] कयानंमेव देखति [१] इयं मे

१८. कयाने कटे ति [१] नो मिन पापं देखति [१] इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे

१९. नामा ति [१] दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा [१] हेवं चु खो एस देखिये [१] इमानि

२०. आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथा चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य।

15. aṭhāye iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpita [1] Hevaṃ anupaṭipajāntu cilaṃ-

16. thitikā ca hotū tī ti [1] Ye ca hevaṃ saṃpaṭi-pajīsati se sukaṭaṃ kachati ti [1]

17. Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā [1] Kayānaṃmeva dekhati [1] Iyaṃ me

18. kayāne kaṭe ti [1] No mina pāpaṃ dekhati [1] Iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave

19. nāmā ti [1] Dupaṭivekhe cu kho esā [1] Hevaṃ cu kho esa dekhiye [1] Imāni

20. āsinavagāmīni nāma athā caṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā

२. एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिलेखिता एवमनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां चिरस्थितिका च भवत्विति । यश्चैवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते स सुकृतं करिष्यतीति ।

### PILLAR EDICT III

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । कल्याणमेव (जनः) पश्यति इदं मे कल्याणं कृतमिति । न मनुष्यः पापं पश्यति इदं मे पापं कृतमिति, अयं वा आस्रवो नामेति । दुष्प्रत्यवेक्षं तु खल्वेतत् ।

२. एवं तु खल्वेतद्दृष्टव्यम् ; इमानि आस्रवगामीनि नाम यथा

2. This rescript on Dharma has been caused to be engraved by me for this purpose that others may follow the example and that this rescript may permanently stand. He, who will act accordingly, will be performing good and virtuous deeds.

1. Thus speaks King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods :

Man notices only his meritorious actions thinking that he has done meritorious deeds. But he does not notice the sins (committed by him), the evil deed he has committed or that it is a sinful act. This is most difficult to recognize.

2. This ought to be seen thus : that the following



२१. कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं [१] एस बाढ देखिये [१]  
इयं मे
२२. ह्रिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये [१]

### चतुर्थो लेखः

१. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा [१] सडुवीसति-  
वस-
२. अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता [१] लजूका मे
३. बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
४. दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे [;] किंति [?] लजूका अस्वथ  
अभीता
५. कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू

21. kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ [1]  
Esa bāḍha dekhiye [1] Iyaṃ me

22. hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye [1]

1. Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā [1]  
Saḍuvīsativasa-

2. abhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpitā [1]  
Lajūkā me

3. bahūsu pānasatasahasesu janasi āyatā tesam  
ye abhihāle vā

4. daṇḍe vā atapatiye me kaṭe [;] Kiṃti [?]  
Lajūkā asvatha abhītā

5. kaṃmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-  
sukhaṃ upadahevū

चण्डत्वं नैष्ठुर्यं क्रोधो मान ईर्ष्या । कारणेन वा अहं मा परिभाषिष्ये ।  
एतद्भाटं द्रष्टव्यम् इदं मे इहत्याय इदमन्यन्मे पारत्रिकाय ।

### PILLAR EDICT IV

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभि-  
षिक्तेन मयेयं धर्मलिपिलेखिता । रज्जुका मे बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जनेष्वा-  
यत्ताः । तेषां योऽभिहारो वा दण्डो वा आत्मपतिको मया कृतः । किमिति ?  
रज्जुका अस्वार्था अभीताः कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुर्जनस्य जानपदस्य हित-  
सुखमुपदध्युरनुगृह्णीयुश्च ।

lead to sin e.g. fierceness, harshness, anger, pride, envy etc. I shall not be motivated by these in my speech. This should be well-understood that this is good for my life (happiness) in this world and the other for the life hereafter.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, speaks thus :

This edict on Dharma has been caused to be engraved by me when I had been consecrated twenty-six years. My representatives (high officers) known as Rajjukas are commissioned by me to rule over several hundreds of thousands of people. The rewards or punishments meted out by them are left to their discretion by me. Why? In order that the Rajjukas may confidently perform their duties unselfishly and fearlessly, bestow welfare and happiness on the people and the country and act kindly towards them.

६. अनुगहिनेवु चा [1] सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति  
धंमयुतेन च
७. वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं [;] किंति [?] हिदतं च  
पालतं च
८. आलाधयवू ति [1] लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं [;]  
पुलिसानि पि मे
९. छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति  
येन मं लजूका
१०. चघंति आलाधयितवे [1] अथा हि पजं वियताये  
धातिये निसिजितु
११. अस्वथे होति [1] वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं  
पलिहटवे [;]
१२. हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये [;] येन  
एते अभीता

6. anugahinevu cā [1] Sukhīyanadukhīyanam  
jānisamti dhammayutena ca

7. viyovadisamti janam jānapadam [;] Kimti [?]  
Hidatam ca pālataṃ ca

8. ālādhayevū ti [1] Lajūkā pi laghamti paṭicali-  
tave maṃ [;] pulisāni pi me

9. chaṇḍaṇṇāni paṭicalisamti te pi ca kāni viyo-  
vadisamti yena maṃ lajūkā

10. caghamti ālādhayitave [1] Athā hi pajam  
viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu

11. asvathe hoti [1] Viyata dhāti caghati me  
pajam sukham palihaṭave [;]

12. Hevaṃ mama lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-  
sukhāye [;] Yena ete abitā

२. सुखं दुःखं (च) ज्ञास्यन्ति । धर्मयुतेन च व्यपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदम् । किमिति ? इहत्वं च पारत्र्यं चाराधयेयुरिति । रज्जुका अपि अभिलषन्ति परिचरितुं माम् । पुरुषा अपि मे छन्दनानि परिचरिष्यन्ति तेऽपि च के(चन) व्यपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः शक्ष्यन्त्याराधयितुम् ।

३. यथा हि प्रजां विदितायै धात्र्यै निसृज्य स्वस्थो भवति विदिता धात्री शक्ष्यति मे प्रजां सुखं पालयिष्यत्येवं मम रज्जुकाः कृताः जानपदस्य हितसुखाय ।

2. They will know what will give them (the people) happiness and what their troubles are. They will exhort the people of the country according to Dharma that they may so shape their conduct as to ensure happiness in this world and in the next. The Rajjukas desire to please me (by carrying out my commands). And my Agents (*Puruṣas*) will also serve those who know my intentions (*chandanāni*), who will instruct the people (of my intentions) so that the Rajjukas may be able to discharge their duties to please and serve me.

3. For, as one who feels confident after having entrusted a child to an intelligent nurse and thinks : "The intelligent nurse will take care of the comforts of my child and will protect it properly," similarly, my high officers known as Rajjukas have been placed (in all parts of my country), to look after the happiness and welfare of the people.

१३. अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं

१४. अभीहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे [।] इछितविये हि एसा [;] किंति [!]

१५. वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा [।] अव इते पि च मे आवुति [।]

१६. बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे

१७. योते दिने [।] नातिका व कानि निझपयिसंति जीविताये तानं

१८. नासंतं वा निझपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कळंति

13. asvatha saṁtaṁ avimaṇā kaṁmāni pavata-  
yevū ti etena me lajūkānaṁ

14. abhihāle va daṇḍe vā atapatiye kaṭe [।]  
Ichitaviye hi esā [;] Kiṁti [?]

15. Viyohālasamatā ca siya daṇḍasamatā cā [।]  
Ava ite pi ca me āvuti [।]

16. Baṁdhanabadhānaṁ munisānaṁ tilitadaṁ-  
dānaṁ patavadhānaṁ timni divasāni me

17. yote diṁne [।] Nātikā va kāni nijhapayi-  
saṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ

18. nāsaṁtaṁ vā nijhapayitā dānaṁ dāhaṁti  
pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachaṁti

४. येनैते अभीता अस्वार्थाः सन्तः अविमनसः कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुरित्येतेन मया रज्जुकानामभिहारो वा दण्डो वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः । एष्टव्यो ह्येष किमिति ? व्यवहारसमता च स्याद्दण्डसमता च । यावदितोऽपि च ममाज्ञसिर्बन्धनवधानां मनुष्याणां निर्णीतदण्डानां प्रतिविधानं त्रीणि दिवसानि मया यावद्दत्तं ज्ञातीयाश्च के(चन) निध्यापयिष्यन्ति जीविताय तेषाम्, नाशयन्तं वा निध्यापयित्वा दानं ददति पारत्रिकमुपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति ।

4. In order that these Rajjukas may perform their duties fearlessly, unselfishly and with cheerful minds, the rewards and punishments meted out by them are left to their discretion. For, it is most desirable that there should be absolute equality for all in all legal proceedings and in the punishments awarded; and I have ordered from now the respite of three days to those on whom punishment has already been passed and who are in confinement or under sentence of death, in order that some of their relatives may submit appeals for their life, or, when the death punishment cannot be avoided, that they may persuade and arrange for making gifts or observing fasts for their benefit in the other world. It is my desire, that people

१९. इछा हि मे [;] हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं  
आलाघयेवू ति जनस च

२०. वदति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानस विभागे ति [।]

### पञ्चमो लेखः

१. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा [।] सडुवीसतिवस-

२. अभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि [।]

से यथा

३. सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे

४. जतूका अम्बाकपीलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके

५. गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले

19. ichā hi me [;] Hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi  
pālatam ālādhayevū ti janasa ca

20. vadhati vividhe dhammacalane saṃyame  
dānasa vibhāge ti

1. Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā [।]  
Saḍuvīsativasa-

2. abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni [।]  
se yathā

3. suke sālīkā alune cakavāke haṃse naṃdīmu-  
khe gelāṭe

4. jatūkā ambākapīlikā, duḍī anaṭhikamache  
vedaveyake

5. gaṃgāpupuṭake saṃkujamache kaphaṭasayake  
paṃnasase simale

इच्छा हि मे एवं निरुद्धेऽपि काले पारत्र्यमाराधयेयुरिति जनस्य च वर्धते  
विविधं धर्मचरणं संयमो दानस्य विभाग इति ।

## PILLAR EDICT V

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषि-  
क्तेन मया इमानि जातान्यवध्यानि कृतानि । तानि यथा—शुकः सारिका  
अरुणः चक्रवाकः हंसः नान्दीमुखः गेलाटः जतुका अम्बापिपीलिका  
दण्डी, अनस्थिकमत्स्यः जीवंजीवकः गङ्गाकुक्कुटकः शकुलमत्स्यः कमठः

should thus devote themselves, during the extended time  
for their betterment in the next world and that there  
may be increase in the practice of Dharma, self-control  
and proper charity (distribution of gifts) by the people.

1. King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods,  
says thus :

When I had been consecrated twenty-six years,  
the following creatures have been prohibited by me  
from being slaughtered, *e.g.* parrot (*suka*), maina  
(*sarika*), red-breast (*aruṇa*), the ruddy goose (*cakra-  
vaka*), the swan (*hamsa*), the *nāndīmukha*, the  
*gelāṭa*, the bat (*jatukā*), the Queen-ant (*ambāpipilika*),  
the terrapin (*daṇḍī*), the boneless fish (*anasthi-  
kamatsya*), the partridge (*jīvaṃjīvaka*), the Gange-  
tic water-cock (*gaṅgā-kukkuṭa*), the gilt-edge fish  
(*śakulamatsya*), the tortoise (*kamaṭha*) the porcupine



६. संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते  
 ७. सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति  
 ८. एडका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिया

पोतके

९. पि च कानि आसंमासिके [१] वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये [;]  
 तुसे सजिवे

१०. नो ज्ञापेतविये [;] दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो  
 ज्ञापेतविये [;]

११. जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये [१] तीसु चातुंमासीसु  
 तिसायं पुंनमासियं

१२. तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा

6. saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate setakapote gāma-  
kapote

7. save catupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na ca  
khādiyati

8. eḍakā cā sūkālī cā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va  
avadhiyā potake

9. pi ca kāni āsaṁmāsike vadhikukūṭe no kaṭa-  
viye [;] tuse sajīve

10. no jhāpetaviye [;] Dāve anathāye vā vihisāye  
vā no jhāpetaviye [१]

11. Jīvena jīve no pusitaviye [१] Tīsu cātummasīsū  
tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ

12. timni divasāni cāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭi-  
padāye dhuvāye cā

शल्यः पर्णशशः सुमरः षण्डकः ओकपिण्डः पृषतः श्वेतकपोतः ग्राम-  
कपोतः सर्वश्चतुष्पदो यः परिभोगं नैति न च खाद्यते । एडका वा सूकरी  
वा गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्याः ।

२. पोतका अपि चाषाण्मासिकाः । वध्रिकुक्कुटो न कर्तव्यः ।  
तुषाः सजीवा न दग्धव्याः । दावोऽनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा न दग्धव्यः ।  
जीवेन जीवो न पोष्टव्यः । तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु तिष्ये पौर्णमास्यां त्रीणि  
दिवसानि चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां प्रतिपदि ध्रुवायां चानुपोषथं मत्स्यः अवध्यः  
नापि च विक्रेतव्यः ।

(*s'alya*), the squirrel (*parṇas'asa*), the *srmara*, the bull (*ṣaṇḍaka*), the monkey (?) (*okapiṇḍa*), the dotted antelope (*prṣata*), the white dove (*sveta kapota*), domestic dove (*grāma kapota*) and all quadrupeds which are neither utilized for food, nor are eaten. A she-goat (*eḍakā*) or a she-pig (*sūkari*), either pregnant or with milk, shall not be slaughtered.

2 (Similarly), young ones under six months shall not be slaughtered. Cocks shall not be caponed. Husks with living creatures (*sajīva*) shall not be burnt. Forest fire shall not be lit unnecessarily and with a view to kill living beings. One living being shall not be nourished by sacrificing another living being. Fish shall not be killed nor sold on the three Cāturmāsī days, on Tīṣya nakṣatra day, on full moons, and for three days, namely on the fourteenth, fifteenth and the first day of each fortnight and invariably on every day on which a fast is enjoined.

१३. अनुपोसथं मळे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये [१] एतानि येव दिवसानि

१४. नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनि-कायानि

१५. नो हंतवियानि [१] अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये

१६. पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये [१]

१७. अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये [१]

१८. तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा

13. anuposatham mache avadhiye no pi viketa-viye [1] Etāni yeva divasāni

14. nāgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīvanikāyāni

15. no haṁtaviyāni [1] Aṭhamīpakhāye cāvudasāye paṁṇaḍasāye tisāye

16. punāvasune tisu cātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye [1]

17. Ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye [1]

18. Tisāye punāvasune cātummāsiye cātummā-sipakhāye asvasā gonasā

३. एतान्येव दिवसानि नागवने कैवर्तभोगे ये चान्येऽपि जीव-  
निकायाः (ते) न हन्तव्याः । अष्टम्यां पक्षयोश्चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां तिष्ये  
पुनर्वसौ तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु सुदिवसेषु गौर्न निर्लक्षितव्यः, अजकः  
एडकः सूकरो यो वाप्यन्यो निर्लक्ष्यते (स) न निर्लक्षितव्यः ।

४. तिष्ये पुनर्वसौ चातुर्मास्ये चातुर्मास्यपक्षयोः अश्वस्य गोः

3. And on the same days, other animals that have their abode in the Nāgavana (Elephant-park) or in the preserves of the fisher-folk also shall not be killed. On the eighth tithi of both fortnights, on the fourteenth and fifteenth tithis, on days of Tīṣyanakṣātra and Punarvasū nakṣātra, on the three Cāturmasī days and other festivals, bulls shall not be castrated, nor he-goats (*ajaka*), rams (*eḍaka*), boars (*Sūkara*) and whatever other animals are usually castrated.

4. On Tīṣya and Punarvasū days, on the Cāturmasīs and in the fortnight of Cāturmāsya, horses and

१९. लखने नो कटविये [१] याव सडुवीसतिवस-अभिसितेन  
मे एताये

२०. अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि [१]

### षष्ठो लेखः

१. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा [१] दुवाडस-
२. वस-अभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
३. हितसुखाये [१] से तं अपहटा तं तं धंमवट्ठि पापोवा [१]
४. हेवं लोकसा हितसुखे ति पट्टिवेखामि अथ इयं
५. नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु [१]

19. lakhane no kaṭaviye [1] Yāva saḍḍuvīsativasa-abhisitena me etāye

20. aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhanamokhāni kaṭāni [1]

1. Devānaṁpiye piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ahā [1]  
Duvāḍasa-

2. vasa-abhisitena me dhammalipi likhāpitā lokasā

3. hitasukhāye [1] Se taṁ apahaṭā taṁ taṁ  
dhammavaḍḍhi pāpovā [1]

4. Hevaṁ lokasā hitasukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha  
iyaṁ

5. nātisu hevaṁ patiyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apaka-  
thesu

लाञ्छनं न कर्तव्यम् । यावत् षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया एतस्मिन्नन्तरे  
पञ्चविंशतिर्वन्धनमोक्षाः कृताः ।

## PILLAR EDICT VI

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह । द्वादशवर्षाभि-  
षिक्तेन मया धर्मलिपिलेखिता लोकस्य हितसुखाय ; तत्तदपहृत्य सा सा  
धर्मवृद्धिः प्राप्तव्या । एवं लोकस्य हितसुखे इति प्रत्यवेक्षे यथेदं ज्ञातिषु .

bullocks shall not be branded. Within this period  
of twenty-six years after my consecration, the release  
of prisoners has been ordered by me twenty-five times.

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods,  
speaks thus :

When I had been consecrated twelve years, the  
edicts on Dharma were caused to be inscribed by me,  
for the benefit and happiness of the people, so that  
they may grasp each item and thereby develop their  
Dharma in various respects. Thus I watch to see what  
makes for the welfare and happiness of the people ; and  
I see what makes for the good of my relatives and to

६. किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि [१] हेमेवा  
 ७. सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि ]१] सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता  
 ८. विविधाय पूजाया [१] ए चु इयं अतुना पचूपगमने  
 ९. से मे मोख्यमते [१] सडुवीसतिवस-अभिसितेन मे  
 १०. इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता

### सप्तमो लेखः

११. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [१] ये अतिकंतं  
 १२. अंतलं लाजाने हुसु [,] हेवं इछिसु [१] कथं जने  
 १३. धंमवढिया वढेया [?] नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया

6. kimaṃ kāni sukhāṃ avahāmī ti tatha ca vida-  
hāmi [1] Hemevā

7. savanikāyesu paṭivekhāmi [1] Savapāsāṇḍā pi  
me pūjita

8. vividhāya pūjāyā [1] E cu iyaṃ atunā pacū-  
pagamane

9. se me mokhyamate [1] Saḍuvīsativasa-abi-  
sitena me

10. iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpita

11. Devānaṃpiye piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā [1]  
Ye atikaṃtaṃ

12. aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu [,] hevaṃ ichisu [1]  
Kathaṃ

13. jane dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā [?] No cu jane  
anulupāyā dhammavaḍhiyā

एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु एवमपकृष्टेषु किं केषां सुखमावहामीति तथा च विदधे ।  
एवमेव सर्वनिकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे ।

२. सर्वपाषण्डा अपि मे पूजिता विविधया पूजया । यत्त्विद-  
मात्मना प्रत्युपगमनं तन्मे मुख्यमतम् । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मयेयं  
धर्मलिपिलेखिता ।

### PILLAR EDICT VII

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह । यदतिक्रान्तमन्तरं  
राजानोऽभवन्नेवमैच्छन् कथं जने धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धनीया । न तु जनेऽनुरूपा  
धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धिता ।

those who are far and near ; and I see to whom what good could be done, and act accordingly. Similarly I watch over the good of all communities.

2. Members of all religions have been revered by me with various honours. But I consider my visiting people personally as a most important duty. This rescript on Dharina was caused to be inscribed by me when I had been consecrated twenty-six years.

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods, says thus :

In the past, there were kings who did desire to increase the devotion to Dharma among the people. But there was no increase of Dharma in due proportion.



१४. वढिथा [।] एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [।]

एस मे

१५. हुथा [.] अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने

१६. अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति [;] नो च जने अनुलुपाया

१७. धंमवढिया वढिथा [;] से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया [;]

१८. किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति [;] किन-

सु कानि

१९. अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति [?] एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि

लाजा हेवं

२०. आहा [।] एस मे हुथा [.] धंमसावनानि सावापयामि

धंमानुसथिनि

14. vaḍhithā [।] Etaṃ devānaṃpiye piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā [।] Esa me

15. huthā [.] Atikaṃtaṃ ca aṃtalaṃ hevaṃ ichisu lājāne kathaṃ jane

16. anulupāyā dhaṃmavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti [;] No ca jane anulupāyā dhaṃmavaḍhiyā vaḍhithā [;] Se kinasu jane anupaṭipajeyā [;]

18. Kinasu jane anulupāyā dhaṃmavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti [;] Kinasu kāni

19. abhyuṇṇāmayehaṃ dhaṃmavaḍhiya ti [?] Etaṃ devānaṃpiye piyadasī lājā hevaṃ

20. āhā [।] Esa me huthā [.] dhaṃmasāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhaṃmānusathini

२. अत्र देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवमाह । एतन्मे भूतम् । अतिक्रान्तमन्तरमेवमैच्छन् राजानः कथं जनेऽनुरूपा धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धनीयेति । न च जनेऽनुरूपा धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धिता । तत्केनस्वित् जनोऽनु-  
प्रतिपद्येत केनस्वित् जनेऽनुरूपा धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धनीयेति । केनस्वित् केषा-  
मभ्युन्नमयेऽहं धर्मवृद्धिमिति ।

३. अत्र देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । एतन्मे भूतम् । धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावयामि, धर्मानुशिष्टीरनुशास्मि । एतानि जनः श्रुत्वा अनु-

2. On this, King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, says thus :

This thought has occurred to me. In the past, kings thought about the methods to increase the devotion of the people to Dharma; but devotion to Dharma was not increased in due proportion (to the thought or methods adopted). By what means may the people be induced to conform? And by what methods may devotion to Dharma be increased in due proportion? By what means and whom may I lift up by increased devotion to Dharma?

3. On this King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, says thus :

This idea occurs to me. I shall cause the precepts of Dharma to be heard by the people, and shall cause instruction in Dharma to be given to the people,

२१. अनुसासामि [;] एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युनमि-  
सति [,]

२२. धंमवद्विया च बाढं वद्विसति [1] एताये मे अठाये  
धंमसावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि यथा  
पुल्लिसा पि बहुने जनसि आयता ए ते पल्लियोवदिसंति पि पविथल्लिसंति  
पि [1] लज्जूका पि बहुकेसु पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता [1]  
हेवं च हेवं च पल्लियोवदाथ

२३. जनं धंमयुतं [1] देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा [1] एत-  
मेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंमथंभानि कटानि [,] धंममहामाता कटा [,]  
धंमसावने कटे [1] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [1] मगेषु पि

21. anusāsāmi [;] Etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭīpajī-  
sati abyumnamisati [,]

22. dhammavaḍḍhiyā ca bāḍḍhaṃ vaḍḍhisati [1] Etāye  
me aṭṭhāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni dhammānu-  
sathini vividhāni ānapitāni yathā pulisā pi bahune  
janasi āyatā e te paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi [1]  
Lajjūkā pi bahukesu pānasatasahasesu āyatā te pi me  
ānapitā [1] Hevaṃ ca hevaṃ ca paliyovadātha

23. janam dhammayutam [1] Devānaṃpiye  
piyadasī hevaṃ āhā [1] Etameva me anuvekhamāne  
dhammathambhāni kaṭāni [,] dhammamahāmātā kaṭā [,]  
dhammasāvane kaṭe [1] Devānaṃpiye piyadasī lājā  
hevaṃ āhā [1] Magesu pi me nigohāni lopāpitāni [,]

प्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नंस्यति, धर्मवृद्धिश्च बाढं वर्धिष्यते । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावितानि धर्मानुशिष्टयो विविधा आज्ञापिताः । यथा मे पुरुषा अपि बहुषु जनेष्वायत्ताः, एते परितो वदिष्यन्त्यपि प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्त्यपि । रज्जुका अपि बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेष्वायत्तास्तेऽप्याज्ञप्ता एवं च एवं च परितो वदत जनं धर्मयुतम् ।

४. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवमाह । एतदेव मयानुवीक्षमाणेन धर्मस्तम्भाः कृता धर्ममहामात्राः कृताः धर्मश्रावणं कृतम् ।

५. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । मार्गेष्वपि मया

so that, hearing this, the people may conform to Dharma, may raise themselves, and thus increase of Dharma may surely result. For this purpose, discourses on Dharma have been preached by me, instructions of various kinds on Dharma have been ordered. As my officers placed in charge of large bodies of men they will expound and spread the Dhārma, around them. The Rajjukas also who have been appointed to look after the welfare of hundreds of thousands of people have been ordered to speak thus and thus to the officers of Dharma around them.

4. King Priyadarśin the beloved of the gods, addresses you thus :

Perceiving this, the Pillars on Dharma have been erected by me, officers for the spread of Dharma called Dharmamahāmātras have been appointed by me and the precepts of Dharma have been duly preached.

5. King Priyadarśin the beloved of the gods says thus :

मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि [;] छायोपगानि होसन्ति पसुमुनिसानं [;]  
अंबावडिक्या लोपापिता [;] अढकोसिक्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि

२४. खानापापितानि [;] निंसिद्धिया च कालापिता [;] आपा-  
नानि मे बहुकानि तत तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं [1]  
लहुके चु एस पटीभोगे नाम [1] विविधाय हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि  
लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके [1] इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु  
ति [;] एतदथा मे

२५. एस कटे [1] देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा [1] धंममहा-  
माता पि मे ते बहुविधेषु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चव

chāyopagāni hosamti pasumunisānaṃ [;] Ambāvaḍi-  
kyā lopāpita [;] Aḍhakosikyāni pi me udupānāni

24. khānāpāpitāni [;] Nimsiḍhiyā ca kālāpitā [;]  
Āpānāni me bahukāni tata tata kālāpitāni paṭibhōgāye  
pasumunisānaṃ [1] Lahuke cu esa paṭibhoge nāma [1]  
Vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājihi mamayā  
ca sukhayite loka [1] Imam cu dhammanupaṭipatī  
anupaṭipajamtu ti [;] etadathā me

25. esa kaṭe [1] Devānaṃpiye piyadasi hevaṃ  
āhā [1] Dhammamahāmātā pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu  
ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ ceva gihithānaṃ

न्यग्रोधा रोपिताश्छायोपगा भविष्यन्ति पशुमानुषाणाम् । आम्रवाटिका रोपिताः । अर्धक्रोशकान्यपि मे उदपानानि खानितानि । निशागृहाणि च कारितानि । आपानानि मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशुमानुषाणाम् । लघुस्तु स प्रतिभोगो नाम । विविधैर्हि सुखैः पूर्वैरपि राजभिर्मया च सुखितो लोकः । इमां तु धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तिमनुप्रतिपद्यतामिति एतदर्थं मयैतत्कृतम् ।

६. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवमाह । धर्ममहामात्रा अपि मयैते बहुविधेष्वर्थेष्वानुग्रहिकेषु व्यापृताः । ते प्रव्रजितेषु चैव गृहस्थेषु च

On the roads, banyan trees have been raised by me, so as to give shade to travelling people and animals. Mango groves have been raised. At every half-kros'a, many wells of drinking water have been dug. Rest houses for travellers have been constructed. For the enjoyment of men and animals I have constructed watersheds in several places. This enjoyment is comparatively but a trifle. The people have been blessed with various benefits under the previous kings and myself. All that I have done so far has been done with the main intention that the people may follow this path of Dharma with faith and devotion.

6. King Priyadarśin the beloved of the gods says thus :

The Dharmamahāmātras appointed by me are now engaged in looking after the welfare of the people and in doing kindly acts in many ways. They are engaged among the hermits, the householders, and

गिह्थानं च [;] सवपासंडेसु पि च वियापटासे [1] संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति [;] हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे

२६. इमे वियापटा होहंति ति [;] निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति [;] नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति [1] पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते ते महामाता [1] धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु [1] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [;]

२७. एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च [1] सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटीपादयंति हिद चेव दिसासु च [1] दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति

ca [;] Savapasam̐desu pi ca viyāpatāse [1] Saṁghaṭṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti [;] Hemeva bābhānesu ājivikesu pi me kaṭe

26. Ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti [;] Nigam̐thesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti [;] Nānāpāsam̐desu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti [1] Paṭivisiṭṭhaṁ paṭi-visiṭṭhaṁ tesu tesu te te mahāmātā [1] Dhammamahāmatā cu me etesu ceva viyāpaṭā savesu ca am̐nesu pāsam̐desu [1] Devānam̐piye piyadasī lājā hevaṁ āhā [;]

27. Ete ca am̐ne ca bahukā mukhā dānavisagasi viyāpaṭāse mama ceva devinaṁ ca [1] Savasi ca me olodhanasi te bahuvīdhena ākālena tāni tāni tuṭṭhāyatanaṁ paṭipādayaṁti hida ceva disāsu ca [1] Dālakānaṁ pi ca me kaṭe am̐nānaṁ ca devikumālānaṁ ime dānavisagesu viyāpaṭā hohaṁti ti

सर्वपाषण्डेष्वपि च व्यापृताः । संघार्थेऽपि मे कृते इमे व्यापृता भवन्तीति ।  
 एतमेव ब्राह्मणेष्वजीवकेष्वपि मे कृते इमे व्यापृता भवन्ति । निर्ग्रन्थेष्वपि  
 मे कृते इमे व्यापृता भवन्ति । नानापाषण्डेष्वपि मे कृते इमे व्यापृता  
 भवन्तीति । प्रतिविसृष्टाः प्रतिविसृष्टास्तेषु तेषु ते ते धर्ममहामात्रास्तु  
 मयैतेषु चैव व्यापृताः सर्वेषु चान्येषु पाषण्डेषु ।

७. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । एते चान्ये च बहवो  
 मुख्या दानविसर्गे व्यापृतास्ते मम चैव देवीनां च सर्वस्मिंश्च ममावरोधने ते  
 बहुविधेनाकारेण तानि तानि तुष्टयातनानि प्रतिपादयन्ति इह चैव दिशासु  
 च । दारकाणामपि च मया कृता अन्येषां च देवीकुमाराणामिमे दानविसर्गेषु

among all religionists ; these officers appointed by me  
 are also engaged in looking after the affairs among the  
*Samghas* (Buddhist Religious Orders), among the  
*Brāhmaṇas*, among the *Ājīvakas*, among the *Nirgran-*  
*thas*, among all the various religionists. Appointed,  
 instructed and sent by me are the various *Dharma-*  
*mahāmātras* who are looking after the welfare of the  
 charges entrusted individually to their special care, and  
 also of all other religionists generally.

7. King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods  
 says thus :

These and many other high officers engaged  
 in looking after the Royal charities and other gifts of  
 mine, of my queens and of the members of my  
 household indicate the several opportunities of charity  
 in diverse ways, here (in Pāṭalīputra) and throughout  
 my empire. These officers are engaged in supervising  
 the charities of my sons and of the sons of my



२८. धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये [१] एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति [१] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [१] यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनुपटीपणे तं च अनुविधि-यंति [१] तेन वढिता च

२९. वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुल्लसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दासभट-केसु संपटीपतिया [१] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [१] मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निज्झतिया च [१]

28. dhammāpadānaṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye [1] Esa hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭipati ca yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sace socave madave sādhave ca lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti [1] Devānaṃpiye piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā [1] Yāni hi kānici mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni taṃ loke anupaṭipameṇe taṃ ca anuvidhiyaṃti [1] Tena vaḍhitā ca

29. vaḍhisanti ca mātāpitisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayomahālakānaṃ anupaṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapanavalākesu āva dāsabhaṭakesu saṃpaṭi-patiyā [1] Devānaṃpiye piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā [1] Munisānaṃ cu yā iyaṃ dhammavaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhammaniyamena ca nijhatiyā ca [1]

व्यापृता भवन्तीति धर्मापदानार्थाय धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये । एतद्धि धर्मापदानं धर्मप्रतिपत्तिश्च यदिदं दया दानं सत्यं शौचं मोदः साधुता च लोकस्यैवं वर्धिष्यते इति ।

८. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । यानि हि कानिचिन्मया साधूनि कृतानि तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नस्तानि चानुविदधाति । तेन वर्धिता च वर्धिष्यते च मातापित्रोः शुश्रूषा गुरुषु शुश्रूषा वयोमहतामनुप्रतिपत्तिर्ब्राह्मणश्रमणेषु कृपणवराकेषु यावद्दासभृतकेषु संप्रतिपत्तिः ।

९. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजैवमाह । मनुष्याणां तु येयं धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धिता द्वाभ्यामेवाकाराभ्यां धर्मनियमेन च निध्यात्या च । तत्र च

queens, for the performance of noble deeds according to Dharma and conformity to Dharma.

This constitutes noble deeds of Dharma and conformity to Dharma which are increased among the people thus, by performing acts of compassion, charity, truthfulness, purity, happiness and saintliness.

8. King Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, says thus :

Whatever meritorious acts I have done, to those the people have conformed and been following them. Thus has increased, and will go on increasing, devotion in the service to mother and father, service to the elders (*gurus*), reverence to the aged, and proper treatment of Brāhmaṇas, Ascetics (*S'ramaṇas*), the distressed, the poor, and also of the slaves and the servants.

9. King Priyadarśin, the beloved of the gods, says thus :

Whatever increase in devotion to Dharma is found among the people has been due to two causes, namely, disciplinary regulations of Dharma and deep

३०. तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे [,] निज्झतिया व भुये [1] धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि [,] अन्नानि पि चु बहुकानि धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि [1] निज्झतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं

३१. अनालंभाये पानानं [1] से एताये अथाये इयं कटे [,] पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति [,] तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति [1] हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति [1] सतविसतिवसाभिसि-

30. Tata cu lahu se dhammaniyame [,] nijhatiyā va bhuye [1] Dhammaniyame cu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni ca imāni jātāni avadhiyāni [,] amnāni pi cu bahukāni dhammaniyamāni yāni me kaṭāni [1] Nijhatiyā va cu bhuye munisānaṃ dhammavaḍhi vaḍhitā avihimsāye bhutānaṃ

31. anālaṃbhāye pānānaṃ [1] Se etāye athāye iyaṃ kaṭe [,] putāpapotike caṃdamasuliyike hotu ti [,] tathā ca anupaṭīpajāntu ti [1] Hevaṃ hi anupaṭīpajāntaṃ hidatapālate āladhe hoti [1] Satavisativasā-

लभुः स धर्मनियमो निध्यातिर्भूयसी । धर्मनियमस्तु खल्वेष यो मयायं कृत  
इमानि चेमानि जातान्यवध्यानि; अन्येऽपि तु बहवो धर्मनियमा ये  
मया कृताः । निध्यात्यैव तु भूयो मनुष्याणां धर्मवृद्धिर्वर्धिता अविहिंसायै  
भूतानामनालम्भाय प्राणानाम् ।

१०. तदेतस्माथर्थायेदं कृतं पुत्रप्रपौत्रिकं चन्द्रमःसूर्यकं भवत्विति  
तथा चानुपद्यन्तामिति । एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमानानामैह्यं च पारव्यं  
चाराद्धं भवति ।

meditation. Among these two, the regulations are of less importance (inferior), while deep meditation is of greater importance (superior). These indeed are regulations of Dharma that have been promulgated by me e.g. such and such lives shall not be slaughtered; and there are also many other regulations of Dharma made by me; but, it is by meditation that there is increase of devotion to Dharma among the people resulting in the absention from injury to living beings and abstention from killing of living beings.

10. This rescript on Dharma has been promulgated for this purpose, that it may endure as long as my sons and great-grandsons shall reign, as long as the sun and the moon endure and that it may be followed. Those who follow in the path herein, secure their good both in this world and in the next.

तेन मे इयं धम्मलिबि लिखापापिता ति [1] एतं देवानंपिये आहा [1] इयं

३२. धम्मलिबि अत अथि सिलार्थंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा  
तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया [1]

bhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalibi likhāpāpitā ti [1] Etam  
devānaṃpiye āhā [1] Iyaṃ

32. dhammalibi ata athi silāthambhāni vā silā-  
phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa cilaṭhitike siyā [1]

११. सप्तविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मयेयं धर्मलिपिलेखितेति ।

१२. एतद्देवानां प्रिय आह । इयं धर्मलिपिर्यत्र सन्ति शिला-  
स्तम्भा वा शिलाफलकानि वा तत्र कर्तव्या येनैषा चिरस्थितिका स्यात् ॥

11. This edict on Dharma was caused to be inscribed by me when I had been consecrated twenty-seven years.

12. On this the beloved of the gods says :

Wherever there are stone pillars or stone surfaces this edict should be inscribed on them so that it may endure for long ages.

## सारनाथस्तम्भलेखः

१. देवा[नंपिये पियदसि लाजा]

२. ए ल . . . . .

३. पाट[लिपुते] . . . . . ये केनपि संघे भेतवे [१] ए चुं खो

४. भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भावति से ओदातानि दुसानि

संनधापयिया आनावाससि

५. आवासयिये [१] हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनि-  
संघसि च विनपयितविये [१]

६. हेवं देवानंपिये आहा [१] हेदिसा च इका लिपी  
तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति संसलनसि निखिता [१]

1. Devā[nam̐piye piyadasi lājā]

2. e la . . . . .

3. pāṭa[lipute] . . . . . ye kenapi saṃghe bheta-  
ve [१] E cum kho

4. bhikhū vā bhikhuni vā saṃghaṃ bhākhati se  
odātāni duśāni saṃnaṃdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi

5. āvāsaiye [१] Hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsane bhikhu-  
saṃghasi ca bhikhunisaṃghasi ca viṇṇapayitaviye [१]

6. Hevaṃ devānam̐piye āhā [१] Hedisā ca ikā  
lipi tupaḥkāmtikaṃ huvāti saṃsalanasi nikhitā [१]

## MINOR PILLAR EDICTS

### SĀRNĀTH EDICT

१. देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा (आह । पाटलिपुत्रे तथाऽन्यत्र वा न) येन केनापि संघो भक्तव्यः । यस्तु खलु भिक्षुर्वा भिक्षुकी वा सङ्घं भनक्ति सोऽवदातानि दूष्याणि संनिधाप्याऽनावासमावासयितव्यः ।

२. एवमिदं शासनं भिक्षुसङ्घे च भिक्षुकीसङ्घे च विज्ञापयितव्यम् । एवं देवानां प्रिय आह । ईदृशी चैका लिपिर्युष्मदन्तिके भवत्विति

1. King Priyadars'in the beloved of the gods, says (thus) :

(At Pātalīputra and in the outlying provincial towns), the *Samgha* (The Order of the Clergy) shall not be divided by any one. If either a monk or a nun divides the *Samgha* (the Order) he or she shall be made to wear the white garment and to live in a non-residence.

2. Thus this command should be communicated to the Orders of both the Monks and Nuns. Thus says the beloved of the gods : Let one copy of this edict be deposited with you in your office (for your use). Let



७. इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ [1]  
ते पि च उपासका अनुपोसथं यावु

८. एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके  
महामाते पोसथाये

९. याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च [1]  
आवते च तुफाकं आहाले

१०. सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन [1] हेमेव सवेसु  
कोटविषवेसु एतेन

११. वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा [1]

### कौशाम्बीस्तम्भलेखः

१. देवानंपिये आनपयति [1] कोसंबियं महामात

7. Ikaṁ ca lipiṁ hedisameva upāsakānamtikam  
nikhipātha [1] Te pi ca upāsakā anuposatham yāvu

8. etameva sāsanam visvaṁsayitave anuposatham  
ca dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte posathāye

9. yāti etameva sāsanam visvaṁsayitave ājāni-  
tave ca [1] Āvate ca tuphākam āhāle

10. savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁja-  
nena [1] Hemeva savesu koṭaviṣavesu etena

11. viyaṁjanena vivāsāpayāthā [1]

1. Devānampiye ānapayati [1] Kosambiyam  
mahāmāta

संसरणे निक्षिप्ता । एकां च लिपिमीदृशीमेवोपासकान्तिके निक्षिपत । तेऽपि चोपासका अनुपोषधं यान्तु एतदेव शासनं विश्वासयितुम् । अनुपोषधं च ध्रुवायामेको महामात्रः पोषधाय याति एतदेव शासनं विश्वासयितुमाज्ञापयितुं च । यावच्च युष्माकमाहारः सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयमेतेन व्यञ्जनेन । एवमेव सर्वेषु कोष्ठविषयंप्वेतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत ।

### KAUSĀMBĪ PILLAR EDICT

देवानां प्रियः आज्ञापयति । कौशाम्बीया महामात्राः . . .

another similar copy of this edict be deposited amidst the lay disciples (*upāsakas*). These lay disciples shall go out on each fasting day to spread faith in this command. At least one officer goes out on each fast-day following the new moon to spread faith in this command and to propagate it. Spread this message as far as your jurisdiction extends, according to this text. Similarly, have this command sent out in the same manner to all garrisons (administrative units) according to this text.

Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods), commands thus: The Mahāmātras at Kausāmbī. . . .

२. . . . . समगे कटे [1] संघसि नो लहिये  
 २. . . . . संघं भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा से पि चा  
 ४. ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावाससि आवासयिये[1]

### साञ्चीस्तम्भलेखः

१. . . . .  
 २. . . या भेत(वे) [1] (सं)घे (स)मगे कटे  
 ३. भिखूनं च भिखुनीनं चा ति पुतप-  
 ४. पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके [1] ये संघं  
 ५. भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-  
 ६. नि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावा-  
 ७. ससि वासापेतविये [1] इछा हि मे किं-  
 ८. ति [?] संघे समगे चिलथितीके सिया ति [1]

2. . . . . samage kaṭe [1] Saṁghasi no lahiye

3. . . . . saṁghaṁ bhākhati bhikhu vā bhi-  
 khuni vā se pi cā

4. odātāni dusāni sanāmdhāpayitu anāvāsasi  
 āvāsaiye [1]

1. . . . .  
 2. . . . yā bheta(ve) [1] (Saṁ)ghe (sa)mage kaṭe  
 3. bhikhūnaṁ ca bhikhunīnaṁ cā ti putapa-  
 4. potike caṁdamasūriyike [1] Ye saṁghaṁ  
 5. bhākhati bhikhu vā bhikhuni vā odātā-  
 6. ni dusāni sanāmdhāpayitu anāva-  
 7. sasi vāsāpetaviye [1] Ichā hi me kiṁ-  
 8. ti [?] saṁghe samage cilathitīke siyā ti [1]

समाजः कृतः [I] संघे न लभ्यः . . . . संघं भिनत्ति भिक्षुर्वा भिक्षुकी  
वा सोऽपि च अवदातानि दूष्याणि सन्निधाप्य अनावासमावासयितव्यः ।

### SĀÑCĪ PILLAR EDICT

. . . . . यो भक्तव्यः [I] संघः समाजः कृतो भिक्षूणां च भिक्षु-  
कीनां चेति पुत्रप्रपौत्रिकं आचन्द्रमःसूर्यकम् । यः संघं भनक्ति भिक्षुर्वा  
भिक्षुकी वा अवदातानि दूष्याणि सन्निधाप्य अनावासं वासयितव्यः [I]  
इच्छा हि मे किमिति ? संघः समाजश्चिरस्थितिकः स्यादिति ।

is made united. . . . . should not be received into  
the *Samgha*.

Whoever causes the *Samgha* to break, whether a  
Monk or a Nun, (he or she) shall be compelled to wear  
white garments and to live in a non-residence (*anā-  
vāsasi*—i.e. where there is no residence).

. . . the order shall not be divided. The  
*Samgha* of the Orders of the Monks and Nuns has  
been made united, that it may continue to be so united  
during the times of my sons and great grandsons and  
as long as the sun and moon endure. That Monk or  
Nun who breaks up the *Samgha* shall be made to  
wear the white garments and to live in a non-residence.  
(*anāvāsasi*). It is my desire that the *Samgha* may be  
united and endure for long ages.

## देव्या लेखः

१. देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महामता
२. वतविया [१] ए हेत दुतियाये देवीये दाने
३. अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे वा ए वा पि अंने
४. कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे नानि [१] हेवं (वि)न(ति)
५. दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये [१]

## लुम्बिनीस्तम्भलेखः

१. देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
२. अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्कमुनी ति
३. सिलाविगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथभे च उसपापिते

1. Devānaṃpiyaṣā vacanenā savata mahāmatā
2. vataviyā [1] E heta dutiyāye devīye dāne
3. aṃbāvaḍikā vā ālame va dānagahe vā e vā pi  
aṃne
4. kīchi ganīyati tāye deviye ṣe nāni [1] Hevaṃ  
(vi)na(tī)
5. dutīyāye deviye ti Tīvalamatu Kāluvākiye

1. Devānapiyena piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhi-  
sitena
2. atana āgāca mahīyite hida Budhe jāte sakya-  
munī ti
3. silāvigaḍabhi cā kālāpita silāthabhe ca usapā-  
pite

## QUEEN'S EDICT

देवानां प्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वत्र महामात्रा वक्तव्याः । यदत्र द्वितीयस्या देव्या दानमाम्रवाटिका वा आरामो वा दानगृहं वा यद्वाप्यन्यत्किञ्चिद्गुण्यते तस्या देव्यास्तानि । एवं (विज्ञप्तिः) द्वितीयस्या देव्या इति तीवरमातुः कारुवाक्याः ।

## RUMMINĪDEI PILLAR EDICT

देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेनात्मनागत्य महीयितमिह बुद्धो जातः शाक्यमुनिरिति । शिलाविकृतभित्तिश्च

By command of Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) the officers (Mahāmātras) everywhere are to be addressed (thus) :

Whatever has been given away as a gift by my second Queen, whether it be a mango-grove or a pleasure garden, or a charity house, or anything else of any description, that should be known as the gift of that queen. Thus requests the second Queen Kāruvākī, mother of Tivara.

Reverence was paid here in person by King Priyadars'in, the beloved of the gods, when he had been consecrated twenty years, for the reason that the Buddha, the S'ākya Sage, was born here. A stone-wall was constructed and a stone pillar was also erected here

४. हिद भगवं जाते ति [;] लुंमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे  
 ५. अठभागिये च [I]

### निर्ग्रीवस्तम्भलेखः

१. देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन  
 २. बुधस कोनाकमनस थुबे दुतियं वढिते  
 ३. [वीसतिव]साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते  
 ४. [सिलाथभे च उस]पापिते [I]

4. hida bhagavaṃ jāte ti [;] Lumminigāme  
 ubalike kaṭe

5. aṭhabhāgiye ca

1. Devānaṃpiyena piyadasina lājina codasavasā-  
 bhisitena

2. Budhasa koṇākamanasa thube dutiyaṃ vaḍhite

3. [vīsatīva]sābhisitena ca atana āgāca mahīyite

4. . . [silāṭhabhe ca usa]pāpīte [I]

कारिता शिलास्तम्भश्चोत्थापित इह भगवाञ्जात इति । रुक्मिणीग्राम  
उद्वलिकः कृतोऽष्टभागी च ।

### NIGLĪVA PILLAR EDICT

देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन बुद्धस्य  
कनकमुनेस्तूपो द्वितीयं वर्धितः । (विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन चात्मनागत्य मही-  
यितं (शिलास्तम्भश्चोत्थापितः ।

for the reason that the Enlightened one was born here ;  
and the village Rukmiṇī was declared free of taxes  
and assigned the right to enjoy the eighth share (due  
to the crown).

By King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the gods,  
when he had been consecrated fourteen years, this  
*stūpa* in honour of the Enlightened Kanakamuni, was  
raised for the second time. Again, when the King was  
consecrated twenty years, a personal visit was paid to  
pay reverence, and a pillar (*stambha*) was also raised.





गुहालेखाः

CAVE EDICTS OF PRIYADARS'IN

(ASOKA)

## गुहालखाः

### न्यग्रोधगुहालेखः

१. लाजिना प्रियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभि[सितेना]
२. इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आ[जी]विकेहि [॥]

### खलतिकगुहालेखः

१. लाजिना प्रियदसिना दुवा .
२. डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
३. कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
४. दिना आजीविकेहि [॥]

1. Lājinā piyadasinā duvāḍasavasābhi[sitenā]
2. iyaṁ Nigohakubhā dinā ā[ji]vikehi

1. Lājinā piyadasinā duvā-
2. ḍasavāsābhisitenā iyaṁ
3. kubhā Khalatikapavatasi
4. dinā ājīvikehi

## BARABAR CAVE DEDICATIONS

### NYAGRODHA CAVE

राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेनेयं न्यग्रोधगुहा दत्ता आजिव-  
केभ्यः ।

### KHALATIKA HILL CAVE

राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेनेयं गुहा खलतिकपर्वते दत्ता  
आजीवकेभ्यः ।

By King Priyadarśin, when he had been consecrated twelve years, this Banyan Tree Cave was dedicated as a gift to the Ājivakas.

This cave on the Khalatika Hill was dedicated as a gift to the Ājivakas by King Priyadarśin when he had been consecrated twelve years.

## ३. सुप्रियागुहालेखः

१. लाज प्रियदसी एकुनवी-
२. सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
३. सागमथात मे इयं कुभा
४. सुपिये ख(लतिकपवतसि) दि-
५. ना

1. Lāja piyadasī ekunavi-
2. sativasābhisite jalagho-
3. sāgamathāta me iyaṁ kubhā
4. Supiye Kha[latikapavatasi] di-
5. nā

## SUPRIYĀ CAVE

राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः । जलोघोषागमार्थतः  
मया इयं गुहा सुप्रिया [खलतिकपर्वते] आजीवकेभ्यः दत्ता ।

King Priyadars'in dedicated this Cave Supriyā on the Khalatika Hill, as a gift to the Ājīvakas, when he had been consecrated nineteen years, as a shelter during the rainy season.

## अनुबन्धः

दशरथस्य खलतिकपर्वतस्थगुहालेखाः

वाहीयकगुहालेखः

१. वहियका कुभा दषलथेन देवानंपियेना
२. अनंतलियं अभिषितेना [आजीविकेहि]
३. भदंतेहि वाषनिषिदियाये निषिठे
४. आचंदमषूलियं [१]

गोपिकागुहालेखः

१. गोपिका कुभा दषलथेना देवानंपि-
२. येना आनन्तलियं अभिषितेना आजी-
३. विके[हि भदं]तेहि वाषनि[षि]दियाये
४. निषिठा आचंदमषूलियं ।

1. Vahiyakā kubhā daṣalathena devānaṃpiyenā
2. ānaṃtaliyaṃ abhiṣitenā [ājīvikehi]
3. bhadaṃtehi vāṣaniṣidiyāye niṣiṭhe
4. ācaṃdamaṣūliyaṃ [1]

1. Gopikā kubhā daṣalathenā devānaṃpi-
2. yenā ānaṃtaliyaṃ abhiṣitenā ājī-
3. vike(hi bhadaṃ)tehi vāṣani(ṣi)diyāye
4. niṣiṭhā ācaṃdamaṣūliyaṃ [1]

## ADDENDUM

### CAVE DEDICATIONS OF DAS'ARATHA

#### VAHIYAKA CAVE

वाहीयकगुहा दशरथेन देवानां प्रियेणाऽऽनन्तर्यामिषिक्तेनाऽऽजीव-  
केभ्यो भदन्तेभ्यो वर्षनिषद्यायै निषिक्ता आचन्द्रमःसूर्यम् ।

#### GOPIKĀ CAVE

गोपिका गुहा दशरथेन देवानां प्रियेणाऽऽनन्तर्यामिषिक्तेनाजीवकेभ्यो  
भदन्तेभ्यो वर्षनिषद्यायै निषिक्ता आचन्द्रमःसूर्यम् ।

The Vahiyaka Cave was dedicated (as a gift) to the venerable Ajīvaka Ascetics, for residential purposes during the rainy season, as long as the moon and sun endure, by King Das'aratha who was consecrated as king after Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods).

The Gopikā Cave was dedicated (as a gift) to the venerable Ājīvaka Ascetics for residential purposes during the rainy seson as long as the moon and sun endure, by King Das'aratha who was consecrated as king after Devānāmpriya (beloved of the gods).



## वटस्थिकागुहालेखः

१. वठथिका कुभा दषलथेन देवानं-
२. पियेना आनन्तलियं अभिषितेना
३. [आजीवि]केहि भदंतेहि वा(षनि)षिदियाये
४. निषिठा आचंदमषूलियं [१]

1. Vaṭhathikā kubhā daṣalathena devānaṁ-
2. piyenā ānaṁtaliyaṁ abhiṣitenā
3. [ājīvi]kehi bhadaṁtehi vā(ṣani)ṣidiyaye
4. niṣiṭhā ācamdamaṣūliyaṁ [1]

## VAḌATHIKA CAVE

वटस्थिका गुहा दशरथेन देवानां प्रियेणाऽऽनन्तर्यामिषिक्तेना-  
ऽऽजीवकेभ्यो भदन्तेभ्यो वर्षनिषद्यायै निषिक्ता आचन्द्रमःसूर्यम् ।

The Vaḍathika Cave was dedicated (as a gift) to the venerable Ājivaka Ascetics, to serve as a dwelling place during the rainy season, as long as the moon and sun endure, by King Das'aratha who was consecrated as king after Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods).

## प्रथमो येरगुल्लिल्लिल्लेखः

१. से देवानंपिये हेवं (आ)ह [I] अ[धि]कानि (अढातियानि वसानि)

\* २. य हकं उपास[के] नो तु खो एकं सबछरं पकांते

३. हुसं सातिरेके चु खो सबछरे यं मया संघे उपयी-

\* ४. ते बाढं च मे पकांते [I] इमिना च कालेन अमिसा [ये] मुनिसा

५. देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभुता [I] पकमस हि (इयं फले [I] नो)

1. Se devānaṃpiye hevaṃ [ā]ha [I] A[dhi]kāni (aḍhātiyāni vasāni)

\* 2. ya hakaṃ upāsa[ke] no tu kho ekaṃ sava-charaṃ pakāṃte

3. husaṃ sātireke cu kho sabachare yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayī-

\* 4. te bāḍhaṃ ca me pakāṃte [I] Iminā ca kālena amisā [ye] munisā

5. devehi te dāni misibhutā [I] Pakamasa hi (iyaṃ phale [I] No)

\* The star-marked lines are written from left to right.

## YERRAGUDI ROCK EDICT I<sup>1</sup>

१. स देवानां प्रियः एवमाह । अ[धि]कानि (अर्धतृती-  
यानि वर्षाणि) यदहं उपासको न तु खल्वेकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तोऽभवम् ।  
सातिरेकस्तु खलु संवत्सरो यन्मया संघ उपेतः बाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तः ।  
अमुना च कालेन अमिश्रा ये मनुष्या देवैस्त इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः ।

1. Thus speaks the beloved of the gods :

I have been a lay disciple (for over two years and a half), but I did not progress well for over a year. But, since I joined the Order (*Samgha*) over a year ago, I have been progressing well. Men who were till now unmingled, have now been mingled with the

<sup>1</sup> The above is almost the same as the Brahmagiri Edict printed in pp. 68-73 ; but it is fuller and there are also a few other differences. Hence it is published here as the Yerragudi version of the same Minor Rock Edict. It was discovered only in 1928 by Dr. A. Ghose the well-known Geologist of Calcutta and published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* 1928-29 (pp. 166-7), as deciphered by Dr. Dayaram Sahani.

६. [इ]यं महप्तेनेव सकिये (पापोतवे) खु-

७. दकेन पि पकममीनेन सकिये विपुल स्वगे आराधेतवे [I]

एताय च अठाय इयं

८. [सा]वने साविते अथा खुदक मह[ल]का इमं [पि]  
पकमेवू अं-

\* ९. ता च मे जानेवु चिरठितिका च

१०. इयं पकमे होतवियु च इ(यं) पि (अठे) व[दि]सिवि  
अपरधिया दियदियं [I]

\* ११. इयं च सावने सा-

१२. वापिते व्यूथेन २०० ५० ६ [I]

\* 6. [i]yaṁ mahapteneva sakiye (pāpotave) khu-

7. dakena pi pakamamīnena sakiye vipula svage  
ārādhetaṇṇa [I] Etāya ca aṭhāya iyaṁ

8. [sā]vane sāvite athā khudaka maha[la]kā imaṁ  
[pi] pakamevū aṁ-

\* 9. tā ca me jāṇevu ciraṭhitikā ca

10. iyaṁ pakame hotaviyu ca i(yaṁ) pi (aṭhe) va-  
[ḍhi]sivi aparadhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ [I]

\* 11. Iyaṁ ca sāvane sā-

12. vāpita vyūthena 200 50 6 [I]

प्रक्रमस्य हि (इदं फलम् । न) [इ]दं महात्मनैव शक्यं (प्राप्तुम् ।)  
क्षुद्रकेणापि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यं विपुलः स्वर्ग आराधयितुम् [1]

२. एतस्मै चार्थाय इदं [श्रा]वणं श्रावितम् । यथा क्षुद्रका  
महा[त्मा]नः इमम[पि] प्रक्रमेन् अन्ताश्च मे जानीयुः, चिरस्थितिकश्चायं  
प्रक्रमो भवतु च । अ(यम)पि (अर्थः) व[र्धि]ष्यते अवरधिया द्वयर्धम् ।  
इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युत्थेन २०० ५० ६ ।

gods. (This) is the (fruit) of exertion. Nor is it correct to hold that this can be achieved only by the great. For, even the smallest person can achieve the ideal of heavenly bliss by force of exertion.

2. It is for this purpose that this proclamation has been proclaimed :

“ Let the small and great exert themselves. May my border people understand this. May this spirit of exertion endure everlastingly.”

This purpose will prosper increasingly, and even in the least calculation, will grow two and half times.

This precept was proclaimed 256 times while on tour.

## द्वितीयो येरगुडिशिलालेखः

१२. हेवं देवानं [?] देवानंपिये आह [1] यथा दे-

\* १३. वानंपिये आहा तथा कटविये रजुके आनपेतविये

\* १४. से दानि जानपद आन-

१५. पयिसति राठिकानि चा [1] मातापितुसु

१६. सुसुसितविये हेमेव गरुसु सुसुसितविये जनेसु दयितविये  
सचे वतविये [इमे]

१७. धंमगुना पवतितविया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ [1] देवानंपिय-  
वचनेन हेवं\* आनप-

१८. याथ हथियारोहानि कारुनकानि यूग्याचरियानि वंभ-  
नानि च [1] तुफे हेवं निवेसया-

12. Hevaṃ devānaṃ [?] devānaṃpiye āha [1]  
Yathā de-

\* 13. vānaṃpiye āhā tathā kaṭaviye rajūke ānapeta-  
viye

\* 14. se dāni jānapada āna-

15. payisati rāṭhikāni cā [1] Mātāpitusu

16. sususitaviye hemeva garusu sususitaviye janesu  
dayitaviye sace vataviye [ime]

17. dhammagunā pavatitaviyā hevaṃ tuphe āna-  
payātha [1] Devānaṃpiyavacanena hevaṃ \* ānapa-

18. yātha hathiyārohāni kārunakāni yūgyācariyāni  
vaṃbhanāni ca [1] Tuphe hevaṃ nivesayā-

## YERRAGUDI ROCK EDICT II

३. एवं देवानां प्रियः आह । यथा देवानां प्रिय आह तथा कर्तव्यम् ; रज्जुकः आज्ञापयितव्यः । स इदानीं जानपदान् आज्ञापयिष्यति राष्ट्रिकांश्च । मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यम् । एवमेव गुरुषु शुश्रूषितव्यम् । जनेषु दयितव्यम् । सत्यं वक्तव्यम् । इमे धर्मगुणाः प्रवर्तयितव्याः । एवं यूयमाज्ञापयत । देवानां प्रियस्य वचनेन एवमाज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान् कारुणिकान् युग्याचरितान् ब्राह्मणांश्च ।

## 3. The beloved of the gods says thus :

What the beloved of the gods has ordered, that should be carried out. The Rajjuka should be commanded accordingly. He (in his turn) will now issue commands to the rural divisions and the Rāṣṭrikas. The father and mother must be served ; so also service should be rendered to the elders (*gurus*). Kindness should be shown to the people. Truth should be spoken. These virtues of Dharma should be caused to be practised. (Therefore) you thus issue orders. In the command-words of Devānāmpriya (the beloved of the gods) you issue orders accordingly to the *Kārunakas* (people with compassionate disposition) riding on elephants and the Brāhmaṇas riding on vehicles.



१९. थ अंतेवासीनि यारिसा पोराना पकिति इयं सुसुसितविये  
अपचायनाय वा आचरियस \*(हे)मेव

२०. से यथा वा पुन आचरियस नातिकानि यथारहं नाति-  
कासु र्प(प्र)वतितविये हेसापि

२१. (परां ?)तेवासीसु यथारहं पवतितविये यारिसा पोराना  
पकिति [1] यथारहं यथा इयं

२२. तिरोके सिया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ च  
अंतेवासीनि हेवं दे-

\* २३. वानंपिये आनपयति [1]

19. tha aṁtevēsīni yārisā porānā pakiti iyaṁ  
sususitaviye apacāyanāya vā ācariyasa \* [he]meva

20. se yathā vā puna ācariyasa natikāni yathā-  
raham nātikāsu rpa [pra]vatitaviye hesāpi

21. [parām ?]tevāsīsu yathāraham pavatitaviye  
yārisā porānā pakiti [1] Yathāraham yathā iyaṁ

22. tiroke siyā hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha nivesa-  
yātha ca aṁtevēsīni hevaṁ de-

• 23. vānaṁpiye ānapayati [1]

४. यूयमेवं निवेशयत अन्तेवासिनः । यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृतिः इयं शुश्रूषितव्या अपचायनाय चाचार्यस्य । एवमेव स यथा वा पुनराचार्यस्य ज्ञातिकान् । यथार्हं ज्ञातिषु प्रवर्तितव्यम् । एषापि परान्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्तितव्या यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृतिः ।

५. यथार्हं यथेदं (अन)तिरेकं स्यादेवं यूयमाज्ञापयत निवेशयत चान्तेवासिनः । एवं देवानां प्रिय आज्ञापयति ।

4. You direct the disciples to obey and live according to the ancient practice in order to please the teacher and similarly (to show courtesy) to the relatives of the teacher. Fitting courtesy should be shown to relatives. To the other disciples also, fitting courtesy should be shown according to the ancient practice.

5. Ordering thus, you establish the disciples in due and proper discipline. Thus commands the beloved of the gods.



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